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JEWISH

HISTORY AND LITERATURE

UNDER THE MACCABEES AND HEROD

BY

B. H. ALFORD

AUTHOR OF

"OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY AND LITERATURE"

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.

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Dedication.

TO

MY DAUGHTER AND FELLOW-WORKER,

MARGARET ALFORD.

PREFACE.

This book is the continuation of one published in 1910 under the title of *Old Testament History and Literature.* That was an attempt to arrange the earlier writings of Israel in the probable order of their appearance, to study them, so arranged, in connection with the history of their age, and thus to arrive at some conception of the progress of religious thought in Israel. The limit of time put to the attempt was fixed at B.C. 135, when the first book of Maccabees, the last historical document of the Apocrypha, closes with the death of Simon the Hasmonean. Within this limit, three groups of writings were dealt with or touched upon in illustration of Israelite history.

1. The twenty-four canonical books of the Hebrew Old Testament.
2. The additional books, to the number of fourteen, which are called Apocryphal, or secret.

3. The Apocalyptic books; of which however only one, and of that portions only,[1] fell within the period in question.

There remained an interval of over 125 years between the point reached and the birth of Jesus Christ.[2] As far as outward events are concerned, little fresh knowledge has been acquired of late respecting that period. Josephus is still, for better or for worse, not only our leading, but our only continuous authority. It was the time of the decline and fall of the Hasmoneans, of the incoming of the Romans, and of the rule of Herod, vassal-king of the Jews. But with regard to the other kind of material for the construction of such a book as this the case is different. It is not that fresh writings have recently been discovered; it is that writings already existing in Ethiopic, Armenian, and Greek, have been carefully studied by competent scholars, and so studied reveal what contemporary Jews thought of the events of the period—how the nation felt towards the Romans who took away their independence, and how the op-

[1] Parts I. and II. of the book of Enoch. *Cf. O.T.H.L.*, p. 296 ff.

[2] Which may with reasonable certainty be fixed in B.C. 8; *cf.* p. 105, note 1, *infra*.

posing parties within the nation felt towards one another, and wrote of one another. This literature has been called "Pseudepigraphic," because several of its books bear the names of ancient heroes, such as Enoch and Solomon, whose productions they are supposed to be. Another title for the group is Apocalyptic,[1] seeing that the books composing it assumed to a large extent the form of disclosures concerning the future.

The present volume, continuing the attempt to put history and literature together, begins at or near the point where its predecessor stopped, and surveys in some detail what Jews wrote in the interval between the passing of Simon the Hasmonean, and the coming of John the Baptist.

It is hoped in this way that something may be done towards establishing a connection between the two parts of Holy Scripture; that the New Testament may not seem so severely detached from the Old as before, but linked to it through a series of intermediate writings, which express the growth of thought during the intermediate centuries. Then the Pharisee of the days of Jesus will not appear as a

[1] Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, i. p. 109 f.

sudden unaccountable phenomenon, but as the successor of those who struggled hard for high religious ideals against profane, persecuting, and time-serving Sadducees. Then it will be manifest how many a hero of old was as Messiah to his contemporaries only to disappoint their hopes, to pass away, and leave the spiritual ideal still waiting for fulfilment in Him that was to come.

As in the former volume I owned my obligations to a succession of authors who have helped me during a studious life to a fuller understanding of the Scriptures, so now I would acknowledge my special obligations to particular authors, whose recent works have made this attempt of mine possible.

1. Professor Charles published in 1893 a translation from the Ethiopic, with a full commentary, of the composite *Book of Enoch.* He divided it into five separate parts, to each of which he assigned an approximate date, inferred from internal evidence, and ranging from *c.* B.C. 170 downwards.[1] So he made it possible by comparison of the parts to gain knowledge of the changing thought of several

[1] The first two parts are dealt with in *O.T.H.L.*, p. 296 ff.

generations of Jews, as shown by their changing expectations concerning the future.

2. To the same scholar we owe editions of two Jewish books, one translated from the Ethiopic in 1902, the other from the Greek in 1908, which belong to the Maccabean age. *The Book of Jubilees*, and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* put forward sayings and doings of the tribal heroes of Israel in the early time, and interspersed them with references to recent and to contemporary events. The writers praised such of the Hasmonean priest-kings as fulfilled their lofty ideals, and blamed with bitterness such of them as had stooped to favour the laxer Sadducees, their rivals.

3. In 1891 there appeared at Cambridge a revised Greek text with an English translation by Professor Ryle (now Dean of Westminster) and Mr. James, of the so-called *Psalms of Solomon*. One great interest of its eighteen lyrics is the insight they afford into the feelings entertained by Jews towards Rome at the crisis of B.C. 63. The Pharisees beheld in Pompey one who punished their adversaries for all the defilements wherewith "they polluted Jerusalem, and the things that had

been dedicated unto the name of God";[1] but the Pharisees were patriots even more than partisans; they called on Jehovah "to turn the pride of the dragon to dishonour" and exulted in the vision of Pompey's dead body lying unburied upon the shore of Egypt.[2] A further interest consists in the insight which the writer of the seventeenth Psalm affords us into the conceptions of his age concerning the Lord Messiah. He will be no fighter, though he subdues the nations; he is "mighty through the spirit of holiness," "pure from sin" himself, and able to make Jerusalem "holy even as it was in the days of old".[3]

If the present writer might sum up the effect on himself of this study of "Jewish History and Literature under the Maccabees and Herod," it would be that it has enabled him to perceive the glory of the period that came after; to appreciate how good and stirring a thing it is to listen once more in Gospel and Epistle to the voice of prophecy[4]

[1] Ps. Sol. viii. 26.

[2] Ps. Sol. ii. 29 ff.

[3] Ps. Sol. xvii., 33-42.

[4] *Cf.* Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, i. p. 109: "Prophecy still believes that this world is God's world, and that in this world His goodness and truth will yet be justified".

—personal, moral, and emphatic. There has been enough of apocalypse forecasting some catastrophe to follow; enough of poetry exhibiting the bitterness of Jew against Jew; and enough of philosophy recommending the pursuit of Wisdom. A moment of change in religious expression has arrived, a revival of the methods of the past. The message of the New Testament reaches us under forms which recall earlier and better times, and appeal directly to the human conscience; it joins the ministry of Isaiah to the ministry of John the Baptist, and commands: "Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand" (Matt. iii. 2).

B. H. Alford.

April, 1913.

NOTE.

In quotations from the Bible, the Revised Version is used; in quotations from Josephus, the translation is that of Whiston revised by Shilleto (Bohn's Library). Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* is cited as "Hastings' *D.B.*," and the author's book on *Old Testament History and Literature* as "*O.T.H.L.*"

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JEWISH HISTORY AND LITERATURE UNDER THE MACCABEES AND HEROD.

CHAPTER I.

THE HASMONEAN DYNASTY.

I PROPOSE in this chapter to consider the nature of the government of the Jews after their return from Exile, and to observe the changes it underwent during the succeeding centuries.

§ 1. The last king of the house of David was blinded and sent into captivity in B.C. 586 (2 Kings xxv. 6, 7). There is a brief notice of his nephew and predecessor on the throne as released from prison twenty-five years later (2 Kings xxv. 27-30), and admitted to the Court-circle in Babylon chief above all the other kings in exile. But after B.C. 586 there was no vestige of independence among the Jews for over four hundred years, although there were varying forms of local administration. On the return of the Jews from Captivity, in B.C. 537, power was entrusted to Zerubbabel, a scion of the old royal family, under the title of Tirshatha (Ezra ii. 63) or Pekhah (Haggai i. 1, Hebrew), that is, Governor on

behalf of Persia. His coadjutor was Jeshua of the priestly family of Zadok, grandson of the Seraiah who was in office at the time of the capture of Jerusalem. These two leaders of Church and State joined in setting up "the altar of the God of Israel" . . . "in its place" upon Mount Moriah (Ezra iii. 2, 3), and seventeen years afterwards (B.C. 520) it is to these two in conjunction that Haggai the prophet appeals to rebuild the Lord's house after years of desolation. At this point of the history the question seems practically undetermined as to which of these two prominent men should lead the community. Haggai indeed reserves a special blessing for the lay ruler, because a time of political upheaval was at hand, when Jehovah would "shake the heavens and the earth," as happened when Darius Hystaspes succeeded to the throne of Persia. Then the signet-ring of royalty forfeited by Jeconiah in the great Chaldæan invasion (*cf.* Jer. xxii. 24) would be restored to Zerubbabel, the servant of Jehovah (*cf.* Haggai ii. 23). Haggai's contemporary Zechariah advances a step farther in the same direction. He takes a name consecrated by old prophecy and applies it to Zerubbabel; he is not only the servant of Jehovah, but that particular servant whom Jeremiah[1] had named the "Branch" or "Shoot," a

[1] Ch. xxiii. 5 (see Driver's note); xxxiii. 15. The imagery seems to have originated with Isaiah xi. 1, and is perhaps continued in Ps. cxxxii. 17: "There will I make the horn of David to bud".

fresh sucker sprung from the seemingly dead root of Jesse. A crown moreover was to be made for him of silver and gold, and "Joshua shall be priest on his right hand, and there will be a counsel of peace between the two of them"[1] (Zech. vi. 11-13).

After the rebuilding of the temple the continuous history of the Old Testament fails us for fifty-eight years, and there is nothing to throw light on the fortunes of Zerubbabel considered as Israel's Messiah. Did he make an effort for independence and fail? All we know is that, when the book of Zechariah was added to the Canon of Scripture, then or subsequently, the passage in the sixth chapter appeared in a curiously altered form, according to which the high priest alone holds the dignity once ascribed to "the Branch".

About the middle of the fifth century the administration of the Judæan province fell into the hands of Ezra, a priest of the house of Zadok, but not a descendant of Jeshua.[2] He was specially commissioned by King Artaxerxes to carry back to Jerusalem a band of his countrymen desirous of returning: he had well-defined powers granted him, not only over the caravan he was leading, but also over the Jews whom he would find already settled in the

[1] For this reading see *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, by G. Adam Smith, vol. ii., p. 308 f., and *Old Testament History and Literature*, p. 193 f.

[2] His descent is traced in Ezra vii. 1, through the Hilkiah who found the book of the law in the house of the Lord in the reign of Josiah (2 Kings xxii. 8).

province, to "appoint magistrates and judges which may judge all the people that are beyond the river, all such as know the laws of thy God" (Ezra vii. 25). Besides being a priest, Ezra was also a scribe learned in the law of Moses, and eager to apply it to the government of the community. Not satisfied indeed with the fulness of the old documentary record, he brought forward a new and stricter form of the law, which he read aloud to the people, and upon which he founded "a sure covenant," containing seven points of strict observance (Neh. viii. 1-3, ix. 38, x. 30-39). It remained to purge out from among the "holy seed" such intrusive elements as had crept in through the intermarriage of Jews with foreign wives (Ezra x. 2 ff.). Thus the old ideal of a nation was abandoned in favour of a close ecclesiastical society separated from the outer world, and regulated by a priestly code. It is true that Nehemiah, who came after Ezra,[1] was a layman, and that Eliashib, the high priest of the family of Jeshua, worked under him in the endeavour to protect their city by renewing the fortifications; but it is also true that Nehemiah strenuously upheld the religious acts of his predecessor, and enforced discipline even upon Eliashib and his family (Neh. xiii. 7 ff., 28).

The official list in the book of Nehemiah (xii. 10, 11) carries on the succession of high priests to Jaddua, sixth in order from the date of the Return,

[1] Or possibly in an interval between two of his administrations.

and it is this Jaddua who appears in the *Antiquities* of Josephus (xi. 8 §§ 4, 5) as representing the people of Jerusalem at a supposed visit of Alexander the Great. On the other hand the pedigree of the descendants of Zerubbabel (1 Chron. iii. 19 f.) shows no one name with any history attached to it, or any appearance of having held office. What is the inference? That the Jews remained obedient to the house of Levi ruling them in the interests of Persia, and that all hopes from the house of David were at an end for a season. And yet there were causes at work provoking discontent. The members of the high-priestly succession proved unworthy of leading a civil, much more a religious society. Office was not supported by character.[1] John,[2] the father of Jaddua, went so far as to murder his own brother in the temple court (Jos., *Ant.*, xi. 7 § 1); Manasseh, the brother of Jaddua, married to a Samaritan woman, led off a secession of priests and Levites to a rival sanctuary which was set up on Mt. Gerizim (*ib.* 7 § 2; 8 §§ 2, 4).

Passing over the dark period of Jewish history (B.C. 432 - *c.* 180) which intervenes between the latest events recorded in the Old Testament and the events recorded in its continuation in the Apocrypha, we find the leadership in evil hands. Just when Antiochus Epiphanes begins his endeavours to subvert the sacred character of the Jewish community, it is a high priest who aids him in the project. Jason, hav-

[1] See Malachi ii. 1-9. [2] Called Jonathan in Neh. xii. 11.

ing purchased office from the king at a heavy price, supplanted his pious brother Onias, and sought to denationalise Judæa. He set up a Greek palæstra under the walls of the acropolis and "brought over them of his own race to the Greek fashion" (2 Macc. iv. 10). Finally, when a false rumour had arisen of the king's death in Egypt, Jason, then a fugitive, made an assault on Jerusalem, and "slaughtered his own citizens without mercy" (2 Macc. v. 6), so that the name "Butcher" clung to him, as it clung in recent times to the Turkish governor of Acre.

Then history in a certain sense repeated itself, for God's methods are substantially the same in all ages with a view to similar results. The priesthood was corrupt in the days of Eli, and Philistines overthrew the tabernacle of Shiloh (Ps. lxxviii. 60); royalty was corrupt in the days of Zedekiah, and Nebuchadnezzar overthrew the temple on Mount Moriah; now once again the priesthood was corrupt,[1] and the Syrian king polluted "the sanctuary in Jerusalem," and called "it by the name of Jupiter Olympius" (2 Macc. vi. 2).

§ 2. At this time of danger for religion among the Jews relief came neither from the stock of David, nor from the ruling house of Zadok, but from one of the cadet families of priests. Mattathias, representative

[1] See the description given in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Levi xvii. 11): Antiochus Epiphanes was guided into "the most holy temple of all the earth" by the high priest of the time; but then he was Menelaus, a Benjamite, who had obtained the post by bribery (2 Macc. v. 15).

of the sons of Joarib the Levite, escaping from Jerusalem took refuge in Modin, a village of the Judæan foot-hills, and there rose up against the Syrian commissioner and, in the spirit of King Josiah of old,[1] slew on the altar a Jew who was about to sacrifice "according to the king's commandment" (1 Macc. ii. 23 f.); then killed the commissioner and pulled down the altar. Thus the tribe which through some of its highly placed members had led the nation into shame was the tribe to inaugurate revolt from Syria, and secure liberty first of worship, and then of political life. But these things came slowly. The military details of the "holy war" in its chief phases have been given in *Old Testament History and Literature.*[2] In this present chapter we are to trace the steps by which an orderly native government emerged out of the chaos resulting from a pagan dominion which proved weak, and from an administration by official priests who proved unworthy.

§ 3. The first book of Maccabees records the exploits of certain of the sons of Mattathias, who, by virtue of their persistent valour, acquired, one after the other, the leadership of the nation. Judas, the third in the family, was the first to become prominent.[3] The

[1] *Cf.* 2 Kings xxiii. 20. [2] Pp. 271-284.

[3] He was known personally as Maccabæus (1 Macc. ii. 4); *i.e.* probably, but not certainly, "the Hammer of the Lord," as our King Edward I. is called Scotorum Malleus on his tomb in Westminster Abbey. This name has been applied to the whole brotherhood, and even to their sympathisers; but the more appropriate title of the family was derived from an ancestor,

earliest stage of the Jewish Revival was reached when he first of all delivered Jerusalem itself from the hands of the heathen, and then so availed himself of dissensions among the Syrians as to wrest from them liberty of worship in the recovered temple (1 Macc. vi. 59). This was no sooner done than there appeared a fatal rift within the ranks of the Jews themselves. Certain of them who had followed Judas up to this point, contending for their beliefs, were satisfied with the success obtained, and declined to continue the struggle merely for political freedom. They were known as the Hasideans, or Puritans. Afraid of the growing influence of Judas, they rallied to Alcimus, a high priest of the seed of Aaron, but the nominee of Syria. He behaved scandalously, slaying threescore of his own partisans, and promoting the war against his own countrymen—a war in which Judas eventually fell at the battle of Elasa, B.C. 160 (1 Macc. ix. 18). Alcimus survived him but a year, long enough however to show his official subservience to Syria by attempting to throw down the wall round the temple which excluded Gentiles from the inner courts (1 Macc. ix. 54). In the stead of Judas his brother Jonathan was chosen by the patriots as "prince and leader" (1 Macc. ix. 30). Two cousins of the Seleucid house were at this time competing for the throne of Antioch. Demetrius offered Jonathan the post of military governor in Jerusalem. Alexander

Hashmon, and it is as Hasmoneans that they appear in the majority of histories.

named him high priest of the nation, sending him a purple robe and a crown of gold. Jonathan appears to have accepted both appointments, for we read that he began to fortify Mount Sion, and also that he "put on the holy garments . . . at the feast of tabernacles" (1 Macc. x. 11, 21). This was the first step taken among the Jews towards that royal priesthood of which Melchizedek and (probably) Jethro had been earlier examples among the nations round about. Either from gratitude or for reasons of policy it was the cause of Alexander which Jonathan adopted, helping to fight his battles, leading 10,000 (?) men to the assault and capture of Joppa, for which he was rewarded by the gift of Ekron and all the coasts thereof (1 Macc. x. 89). What we witness then is the growth of a Jewish dominion, with the title bestowed on Jonathan of "Meridarches" (1 Macc. x. 65), and later of "Lord over three toparchies,[1] and the country of Samaria" (1 Macc. xi. 28). This dominion was doubtless at first subject to the overlordship of Syria, but through the uncertainties of Syrian royalty it tended more and more to become an independent rule. Its first holder was eventually caught in the meshes of a policy which sought self-advancement through change of allegiance, and Jonathan died at the hands of Tryphon, a captain aspiring to be king.

Popular choice raised Simon, a third Hasmonean brother, to power; and with such wisdom and energy did he exercise it that the "yoke of the heathen"

[1] *Viz.* Ophrah, Lydda and Ramah (1 Macc. xi. 34).

was "taken away from Israel," and the era of national freedom dated from B.C. 142[1] (1 Macc. xiii. 41, 42). The writer of Maccabees becomes eloquent on the glory and peace enjoyed under this new native government (1 Macc. xiv. 4-15). Towards the south the land was protected by the fortress of Bethsura, towards the west by that of Gezer covering the sea-haven of Joppa. The cornland "gave her increase, and the trees of the plains their fruit"; "the ancient men sat in the streets," "and the young men put on glorious . . . apparel". Justice and religion alike were cared for by Simon. Was he king in name as well as in reality? In the third year of his rule "a great congregation of priests, and people and princes" rehearsed the national blessings which they owed to Simon, and ordained his having (in addition to the honour of being high priest for ever[2]) the titles of Strategos and Ethnarch[3] and Prostates (1 Macc. xiv. 47). The Syrian king, confirming the designation of Ethnarch, granted to Simon the right of coining with his own stamp,[4] and that of retaining for himself all tribute due to the Syrian Court "from henceforth and for evermore" (1 Macc. xv. 6-8). It appears certain that while the lord of Antioch remained king *par excellence*, the lord of Jerusalem became as a king under the name of

[1] It is called "the first year of Simon the great high priest and captain and leader of the Jews".

[2] With the reservation, however, "until there should arise a faithful prophet" (1 Macc. xiv. 41).

[3] See Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, i. p. 793.

[4] See Hastings' *D.B.*, iii. p. 424.

Ethnarch, reserved for lesser royalties. It is to this that Jewish literature points. The phrase in Maccabees (1 Macc. xiv. 12), "they sat each man under his vine and his fig-tree," suggests that the status of Simon was scarcely lower than that of Solomon with whom he is so significantly compared (*cf.* 1 Kings iv. 25). There is also an apparent revival at this date of Messianic expectations. These had faded before the conflicting claims of Zerubbabel and Jeshua[1]—of the royal house and of the priestly house—in the sixth century; they revived now when a son of Levi had clothed himself with the authority pertaining to a son of David.

It is a very probable conjecture, if less than a certainty,[2] that Psalm cx. is of the period of Simon or of his successor. Jehovah promises victory and a seat of honour to one of the highest ecclesiastical and civil rank, to one who, in the language of the tables of brass recording Simon's honours (1 Macc. xiv. 41), is a "high priest for ever". The writer's mind goes back to primitive days, when Melchizedek was not only King of Salem, but also "priest of God Most High" (Gen. xiv. 18) and was recognised as such by Abraham himself. In that precedent from canonical Scripture lay the hope of the newly constituted dynasty.[3]

[1] See pp. 2, 3 *supra*.

[2] *Cf.* Professor Driver in *The Expositor*, March 1910, p. 222 ff.

[3] *Cf. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, edited by Professor Charles, pp. li., 45.

§ 4. The death of Simon (B.C. 135) came about through the treachery of one of his household, but it was indirectly caused by his own imprudent meddling in Syrian affairs. His son and successor, John Hyrcanus, suffered at first from the same cause, enduring the miseries of a siege of Jerusalem by Antiochus Sidetes, and having to purchase the restoration of the national polity by payment of a tribute (Jos., *Ant.*, xiii. 8 §§ 2, 3[1]). But this political eclipse was of short duration. Hyrcanus dared to open the tomb of David—the object of much subsequent and fruitless search—and with the treasures found there "was the first of the Jews that kept foreign troops" (*ibid.*, § 4). Thenceforward he was able to help Syria, and still more to help himself, as the civil war left the outlying provinces of Syria unprotected. In this way Hyrcanus occupied territory in Moab, captured the city of Samaria, razing it to the ground,[2] and overcame the Idumæans, who submitted to circumcision rather than leave their territory. So it came to pass that Herod, if not Antipater, was born within the religious fold of Judaism, and Edom, abhorred of the Jews,[3] had the opportunity of revenge by vexing them as foes of their own household.

But the interest of the long reign of Hyrcanus

[1] From the death of Simon onward Josephus is our main authority for the history. On his sources and trustworthiness see Hastings' *D.B.*, extra vol., pp. 464-472.

[2] To this incident there appears to be a reference in the *Testament of Levi*, v., vi. See Charles's Introduction, p. lii. f.

[3] *O. T. H. L.*, p. 149; p. 87 *infra*.

(B.C. 135-105) is religious rather than political. First of all comes an incident happening to the king himself, and full of literary importance. Josephus tells us (*Ant.*, xiii. 10 § 3) that "God came to talk with" the high priest; for as he was alone in the temple burning incense[1] he "heard a voice saying that his sons had just overcome Antiochus. And he openly declared this to all the multitude upon his coming out of the temple, and it proved true." In addition therefore to the government of the nation, and the highest ecclesiastical dignity, this favoured ruler had "the power of prophecy, for God was with him, and enabled him to know and foretell the future" (Jos., *Ant.*, xiii. 10 § 7). Just as Zerubbabel at an earlier time, and Simon in the previous generation, so for a season John Hyrcanus was the Jewish Messiah, and this by a right greater than that of any of his predecessors in title, for he alone in his country's history could claim to be Prophet, Priest and King. Of him a new book, the product of a new age, could predict: "The heavens shall be opened, and from the temple of glory shall come upon him sanctification with the Father's voice. . . . In his priesthood shall sin come to an end."[2]

§ 5. But alas for the unfulfilled ideal! The old misery of faction,[3] which started into existence as

[1] *Cf.* Luke i. 9 ff.

[2] *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs,—Levi*, xviii. 6, 9.

[3] Josephus (*Ant.*, xiii. 10 § 5) uses the word στάσις, so familiar in Greek history.

soon as Judas prospered against Syria,[1] revived and spread now that the nation was free from Syria. Those who before had been Hasideans or Puritans are now known as Pharisees or Separatists. The name is changed, the spirit is the same, or even more bitter, and equally ruinous is the effect of ecclesiastical strife. Hyrcanus himself was a disciple of the Pharisees, and yet it was with Hyrcanus that one of them, Eleazar, an extremist, quarrelled. The occasion was perhaps provocative. The king had called "the sect"[2] together, and frankly canvassed them for an opinion on his own character and conduct. Amid the general approval one dissentient voice was heard repeating a story in circulation at the time (which Josephus declares to be false), that the mother of Hyrcanus had been taken captive in the Syrian wars, and calling upon the king to lay down the high-priesthood, and be content "with the civil government of the people" (Jos., *Ant.*, xiii. 10 § 5). It was a challenge to the dynasty, which had grown to greatness by combining the two offices, and so justifying the expectation of the Jews that Messiah would arise from among the members of the Hasmonean family. The imputation cast upon Hyrcanus was resented indeed by the Pharisees, but not with sufficient warmth to satisfy the king. He transferred his favour from them to their rivals, the so-called

[1] *Cf.* p. 8 *supra.*

[2] Josephus uses this word "sect" (*αἵρεσις*, *cf.* Acts xv. 5) in a neutral sense.

Sadducees, who stood for the union of Church and State, and for a wide political outlook. If the origin of their name is doubtful, their principles are fairly clear: they represent the Hellenisers of an earlier time—but with a difference, since it is no longer a question of sympathy with an outside and pagan culture, but of sympathy with freer thought within the self-governing nation itself. Josephus has this practical distinction: "the Sadducees influence none but the rich, . . . but the Pharisees have the multitude to back them" (*Ant.*, xiii. 10 § 6).

None probably foresaw at the time the momentous consequence of this change in the king's sympathies. As a matter of history it affected permanently the fortunes of Judæa, seeing that it was through the breach between Pharisees and Sadducees, widened by the action of John Hyrcanus, that there entered first Pompey, then the Idumæan, and finally the Roman Procurator.

CHAPTER II.

LITERATURE OF THE TIME OF JOHN HYRCANUS.

Jewish literature was distinguished by a zeal for minutiæ[1] of detail, which led to a constant rehandling of the historical record. A writer had a tradition to bring forward, and was not content till he had placed it side by side with an earlier tradition of the same event in a composite narrative, or had blended, rather than reconciled, it with the previous account in a narrative rewritten for the occasion. Such a narrative rewritten for the occasion offered an opportunity which the compiler could not forego of adjusting its details to the religious point of view of the generation to which he belonged. And herein lies the interest of this way of presenting history: the student may be perplexed as to which version of an event told in different ways is to be preferred, but he is seldom in doubt as to the spirit of the age when the compiler wrote; it can be inferred from his additions, his omissions, and his variations.

An example had occurred when the order of scribes

[1] The other name of the *Book of Jubilees* is ἡ λεπτὴ Γένεσις, where (as Professor Charles explains, *Jub.*, p. xv.) λεπτη expresses its dealing with minutiæ.

gathered up traditional fragments concerning the Monarchy, wove them in with existing documents, and brought forth, perhaps *c.* B.C. 330, the books of Chronicles to supplement the books of Kings.[1]

Further examples occur in the reign of John Hyrcanus (B.C. 135-105). Before the ecclesiastical quarrel broke out towards the close of that reign, the Pharisees produced two books the general tone of which was in favour, and even in express praise, of the existing rule of a priest-king. Both books founded themselves on the Genesis of the canon. The one, known as the *Book of Jubilees*, dealt with events from the Creation to the days of Moses, distributing them into periods of forty-nine years each. The other book, known as the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, dealt with events of the patriarchal age, putting the narration of them into the mouth of the sons of Jacob, each of whom in turn spoke of his own experience, advised his descendants, and forecast the fortunes of the people. The strange feature of this second book is that the national habit of rehandling literature led a scribe of the next generation, while retaining the previous praises of the dynasty, to qualify them by inserting attacks on the character of its later members.

I propose, by the help of Professor Charles's valuable editions of these books, to set out the theological changes they exhibit, and the historical light they throw upon the times of John Hyrcanus.

[1] *Cf. O. T. H. L.*, p. 226 ff.

§ 1. The Book of Jubilees.

(*a*) There is an increasing belief in the doctrine of angels, both good and evil, who intervene between God and men.[1] "On the first day" the Lord God "created . . . all the spirits which serve before Him —the angels of the presence, and the angels of sanctification, and the angels of the spirit of the winds . . ." (ii. 2). In the days of Jared[2] "angels of the Lord descended on the earth, those who are named the Watchers,[3] that they should instruct the children of men, and that they should do judgment and uprightness on the earth" (iv. 15). But certain of them wived with the daughters of men,[4] and the Lord was exceedingly wroth and bound them in the depths of the earth for ever (v. 6, 10); yet the evil that they did lived after them, for Kâinâm[5] found a writing carved on the rock, "and he transcribed it and sinned owing to it; for it contained the teaching of the Watchers, in accordance with which they used to observe the omens[6] . . . in all the signs of heaven" (viii. 3). In spite of the renewal of the earth at the flood, there still remained "unclean demons" to lead astray the sons of Noah, and Noah prayed that they might be imprisoned and not have power over the sons

[1] Professor Charles considers it probable that in *Jub.*, xxxv. 17, we have the earliest distinct reference to guardian angels.

[2] Gen. v. 18.

[3] Dan. iv. 13; Enoch xii. 3; see *O.T.H.L.*, p. 292, n. 2.

[4] Gen. vi. 2; *O. T. H. L.*, p. 297.

[5] *Cf.* Gen. xi. 13 (Sept., where Hebrew has Shelah); Luke iii. 36.

[6] Spoken of in xi. 8 as the "researches of the Chaldees".

of the righteous. But "the chief of the spirits, Mastêmâ,[1] came and said, 'Lord, Creator, let some of them remain before me, . . . for if some of them are not left to me, I shall not be able to execute the power of my will on the sons of men'. . . . And He said: 'Let the tenth part of them remain before him'" (x. 1-9). But help was granted to the patriarchs, for good angels explained to Noah how he might treat the seductions of demons "with herbs of the earth"[2] (x. 12). The Lord also bade His angel open the mouth and ears of Abraham, and "speak with him in Hebrew, in the tongue of the creation," which "had ceased from the mouths of all the children of men from the day of the overthrow of Babel" (xii. 25, 26).

(*b*) It was through this constant ministration of angels that scriptural revelation arose. Enoch was the first among men to write a testimony (iv. 18); Abraham took the books of his fathers, transcribed them, and "studied them during the six rainy months" (xii. 27). Jacob "gave all his books, and the books of his fathers to Levi his son, that he

[1] *I.e.*, "Enmity"; *cf.* Hosea ix. 7, 8. The dualism traceable in Chronicles as compared with Kings is carried still farther in the *Book of Jubilees:* "The Prince Mastêmâ came and said before God, 'Behold, Abraham loves Isaac his son, . . . bid him offer him as a burnt-offering on the altar, . . . and Thou wilt know if he is faithful in everything'" (xvii. 16); *cf.* Gen. xxii. 1, 2; Job i. 6 ff. The Prince Mastêmâ with all his power sought to slay Moses when he met him on the way at the lodging-place (xlviii. 2, 3); *cf.* Exodus iv. 24. See *O. T. H. L.*, pp. 228, 308.

[2] Tobit viii. 2, 3 describes a charm of a similar kind.

might preserve them, and *renew*[1] them for his children until this day" (xlv. 16). Out of this legacy to Levi[2] arose the claim of the priesthood to trace back Hebrew ceremonies and festivals to a prehistoric and even celestial origin, as though to increase their antiquity were to enhance their obligation. Of the rite of circumcision it is asserted that all the angels of the presence, and of sanctification had been "so created from the day of their creation" (xv. 27). The feast of weeks "was celebrated in heaven from the day of creation till the days of Noah," when he and his sons observed it, "to renew the covenant every year" (vi. 17, 18). Abraham was the first to keep the feast of tabernacles on the earth; he took branches of palm trees and the fruit of goodly trees, and "every day going round[3] the altar with the branches seven times" he gave thanks to his God for the promises concerning Isaac (xvi. 21 ff.). The origin of the fast of Atonement is traced back to "the day that the news which made him weep for Joseph came to Jacob his father" (xxxiv. 18).

(*c*) There are additions to the story of the Patriarchs. *Abraham* while yet a child "began to understand the errors of the earth," and when a lad of fourteen years "separated himself from his father, that he might not worship idols with him" (xi. 16). In the sixtieth

[1] This expression would seem to cover improvement of the older documents by additions, omissions, and variations.

[2] Known to the writer as "the heavenly tables" (*e.g.* iii. 31, vi. 17). *Cf.* Charles's note on Enoch xlvii. 3.

[3] *Cf.* 1 Kings xviii. 26, and *O. T. H. L.*, p. 77, note 2.

year of his life he "burned the house of the idols. . . . And Haran hasted to save them . . . and . . . was burnt in the fire" (xii. 12, 14). "Abram sat up throughout the night . . . to observe the stars," "and a word came into his heart, and he said: 'All the signs . . . are . . . in the hand of the Lord. Why do I search them out?'" and he prayed and said, "My God, God Most High, Thou alone art my God, and Thee and Thy dominion have I chosen" (xii. 16-19). The last scene in his life is touchingly told. Abraham ceased blessing Jacob, "and the two lay together on one bed, and Jacob slept in the bosom of Abraham . . . and he kissed him seven times . . . and his heart rejoiced over him" (xxii. 25, 26). "And Jacob awoke from his sleep, and behold Abraham was cold as ice, and he said, 'Father, Father'; but there was none that spake, and he knew that he was dead" (xxiii. 3). *Jacob* appears less timid and more warlike than in the earlier record. When Rebecca would have him flee from the anger of Esau (*cf.* Gen. xxvii. 43 ff.), she is met by the rejoinder, "I am not afraid; if he wishes to kill me, I will kill him" (xxvii. 4). When seven kings of the Amorites assembled themselves together against his sons, Jacob arose with 6,000 men and slew them in the pastures of Shechem (xxxiv. 2-7). When Isaac was dead, the sons of Esau stirred up their father to fall upon Jacob in Hebron; and Esau repudiated the oath of peace he had sworn, and said to his brother: "If the boar can change its skin, and make its bristles as soft as wool, . . . then shall

I observe the tie of brotherhood with thee"; and Esau brought with him to the attack 4,000 hired men from the nations round about (xxxvii. 1-20); but "Jacob bent his bow, and sent forth the arrow, and struck Esau, his brother, . . . and slew him" (xxxviii. 2). Far from accepting the curse of Jacob on Simeon[1] and *Levi* for their fierce and cruel anger towards the men of Shechem (Gen. xlix. 5-7), the writer declares that the seed of Levi was chosen for the priesthood for the very reason that in his zeal he slew "under tortures" those that had wrought shame in Israel (xxx. 17, 18). Levi is represented as himself exercising the office: he was dedicated by his father after the birth of Benjamin, as being the tenth of his sons when counted upwards, and therefore the portion of the Lord (xxxii. 3); he himself dreamed at Bethel that angels "had ordained and made him the priest of the Most High God,[2] him and his sons for ever" (xxxii. 1). Still there is hesitation, such as we find also in the Testaments of the Patriarchs, to give Levi the monopoly of honour; for the same Jacob that prophesies of the sons of Levi "they will be princes and judges and chiefs," prophesies also of Judah "a prince shalt thou be, thou and one of thy sons, over the sons of Jacob. . . . Then will the Gentiles fear before thy face" (xxxi. 15, 18).

[1] Judith (ix. 2), shows a change of Jewish opinion in this matter in favour of Simeon.

[2] This was the title of Melchizedek, Gen. xiv. 18; *cf.* p. 11. *supra* and Test. Levi, viii.

(*d*) There is one outburst of Apocalypse following on the account of the perfectness of Abraham. After him all generations will grow old quickly, for all have done evil (xxiii. 11-17). And the Lord "will wake up against them the sinners of the Gentiles, . . . and much blood will be shed" (ver. 23). Then "in those days the children will begin to study the laws" . . . and their "days will begin to grow many" . . . "and there will be no Satan nor any evil destroyer . . . and . . . the Lord will heal His servants, and they will rise up and see great peace, and drive out their adversaries. . . . And their bones will rest in the earth, and their spirits will have much joy" (26-31).

§ 2. Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

Another book of the same period is written in imitation of two portions of early canonical Scripture, the prophecy of Jacob in Genesis xlix., and the blessing of Moses in Deuteronomy xxxiii. It professes to contain the dying words of the Patriarchs, each of them coming forward in turn to recount the events of his life, to advise his children out of his experience, and to forecast the national future.

(*a*) One main topic runs throughout the book—the question of sovereignty in Israel, present and prospective. We know how keenly the lists of genealogy had been scrutinised at the return from Babylon. Certain sacerdotal families were at that time "deemed

polluted, and put from the priesthood" (Ezra ii. 61, 62)[1] because of a blot upon their pedigree. The like question was a burning one in the reign of John Hyrcanus. Had he the right to be high priest? Jonathan, his uncle, was such by the appointment of Syria (1 Macc. x. 20); Simon, his father, was such by the choice of the people (1 Macc. xiv. 35); but was either of them of the true branch, descended from the Jeshua and Jaddua of Nehemiah xii. 10, 11?[2] Even if that were so, was there not an adverse rumour concerning the birth of Hyrcanus himself?[3] And indeed should the care of Church and State ever be in the same hands? Did not prophecy assign the kingdom of Messiah to the house and lineage of David?[4]

Nearly every patriarch in turn has testimony to give on the subject, but the testimonies are by no means accordant.

Levi relates a vision wherein the Most High upon His throne of glory said to him: "I have given thee the blessings of the priesthood until I come and sojourn in the midst of Israel" (v. 2). "In the seventh week shall come priests who are idolaters,

[1] See *O. T. H. L.*, p. 186.

[2] Alcimus seems to have been owned as legitimate, and followed as such by the strict Hasideans, spite of his Syrian proclivities (1 Macc. vii. 14). His death is recorded in 1 Macc. ix. 56, but nothing is said of any of his descendants claiming the succession.

[3] See p. 14 *supra*.

[4] *Cf.* Jer. xxxiii. 15-26; Ezek. xxxvii. 24, 25.

. . . lovers of money, proud, lawless.[1] . . . And after their punishment shall have come from the Lord, the priesthood shall fail. Then shall the Lord raise up a new priest . . . And he shall execute a righteous judgment, . . . and his star shall arise in heaven as of a king, . . . and from the temple of glory shall come upon him sanctification with[2] the Father's voice" (xvii. 11 - xviii. 6). "In his priesthood shall sin come to an end, . . . he shall open the gates of paradise . . . and he shall give power to his children to tread upon the evil spirits"[3] (xviii. 9-12). Here is a clear declaration of the rights and glories of John Hyrcanus. In the same sense *Reuben* bids his sons hearken to Levi "as the anointed High Priest"; "for he shall bless Israel and Judah, because him hath the Lord chosen to be king over all the nation" (vi. 8-11).

On the other hand there is the pronouncement of *Judah* on his own behalf, "my father blessed me, saying, Thou shalt be a king prospering in all things" (i. 6). Yet he recognised the limitation of his own power, for he bade his children to "love Levi, that ye may abide. . . . For to me the Lord gave the kingdom, and to him the priesthood, and He set the kingdom beneath the priesthood. To me He gave the things upon the earth; to him the things in the heavens" (xxi. 1-3). This partition of offices (which

[1] The regular epithet in Maccabees for Hellenising Jews: 1 Macc. vii. 5.

[2] *Cf.* p. 13 *supra*. [3] *Cf.* Luke x. 19.

was not consonant with the actual state of things under John Hyrcanus) is upheld as the true ideal by *Simeon*, for he commands his children, "Obey Levi and Judah . . . for from them shall arise unto you the salvation of God. For the Lord shall raise up from Levi as it were a High-priest, and from Judah as it were a King; he shall save all the race of Israel" (vii. 1, 2).

A like injunction proceeds from the mouth of *Naphtali*, for his descendants are to "be united to Levi and to Judah, for . . . in them shall Jacob be blessed" (viii. 2).

(*b*) The several patriarchs confess with humility the several faults of their early life, and express their penitence for the same. "Even until now," says Reuben, "my conscience[1] causeth me anguish on account of my impiety" (iv. 3). "True repentance after a godly sort . . . enlighteneth the eyes" (Gad v. 7; *cf.* 2 Cor. vii. 10). It is especially the conduct of the brethren towards Joseph which causes them self-reproach. Dan declares that the spirit of anger persuaded him to crush Joseph, "as a leopard crusheth a kid" (i. 8). Gad was indignant with Joseph for telling tales to their father of the gluttony of the sons of Zilpah and Bilhah (i. 6-9). Zebulun's only sin was in covenanting with his brethren not to tell

[1] This is one of the earliest occurrences of the word in an ethical sense in Hebrew literature; *cf.* Wisdom xvii. 11, p. 98 *infra*. Judah (xx. 5) describes the action of conscience without using the word.

his father what had been done (i. 5). He had no share in the price of Joseph, whereas others of the brethren "bought sandals[1] for themselves and their wives and their children" (iii. 2).

(*c*) On these confessions of sin is founded the advice of each dying man to his children. This advice attains a high moral level: it not merely forbids the fault, it urges the acquisition of a countervailing virtue. As though the character of Jacob, the supplanter, still lurked in the bosom of his descendants, breeding jealousy and hatred, one special command frequently recurs: "Walk in simplicity" (Levi xiii. 1); "Love . . . one another with a true heart" (Dan v. 3); "Get singleness, and walk in guilelessness, not playing the busybody with the business of your neighbour" (Iss. v. 1). The blessedness of the single-minded is finely given in the words, "He doth not desire to live a long life, but only waiteth for the will of God" (Iss. iv. 3).

Professor Charles[2] gives a list of instances in which the New Testament writers appear to have borrowed from the book, and indeed some of its injunctions and assertions are of a truly Christian quality: "Love one another, and with long-suffering hide ye one another's faults" (Jos. xvii. 2). "Have compassion towards all, not towards men only, but also towards beasts. . . . Have . . . compassion in your hearts . . . because even as a man doeth to his neighbour, even so also will the Lord do to him"

[1] *Cf.* Amos ii. 6. [2] Introd., pp. lxxviii-xcii.

(Zeb. v. 1, 3). "If a man prospereth more than you, do not be vexed, but pray also for him that he may have perfect prosperity" (Gad vii. 1). "If a man sin against thee, speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile; and if he repent and confess, forgive him. . . . But if he be shameless and persisteth in his wrong-doing, even so forgive him from the heart, and leave to God the avenging" (Gad vi. 3, 7).

In Genesis Joseph shows a noble character in dealing with his brethren: but it was reserved for the writer of the "Testaments" to add further touches of nobility. Going down into Egypt with the Ishmaelites he persisted in saying that he was a home-born slave, "that I might not put my brethren to shame" (xi. 2). After the reconciliation, we read, "I exalted not myself among them in arrogance, because of my worldly glory, but I was among them as one of the least" (xvii. 8).

Comparing these and such-like sayings with the contents of Proverbs and Koheleth (Ecclesiastes), one cannot but mark an advance in tenderness of thought, as well as discern the beginnings of new virtues in the national character.

(*d*) The philosophy of the age shows itself from time to time. God in history has strict methods of retaliation: "By what things a man transgresseth, by the same also is he punished," says Gad, and proceeds to make a personal application: "since, therefore, my liver was set mercilessly against Joseph, in my liver too I suffered mercilessly, and was

judged for eleven months, for so long a time as I had been angry against Joseph" (v. 10, 11). The same popular conception is found in the Book of Jubilees, where it is said that Cain's house fell upon him and he died: "for with a stone he had killed Abel, and by a stone was he killed in righteous judgment" (Jub. iv. 31; see also xlviii. 14, and 2 Macc. v. 9, 10).

"Two ways hath God given to the sons of men, and two inclinations, . . . and two issues." "All things are by twos, one over against the other" (Asher i. 3, 4).[1] "The inclination of the good man is not in the power of the deceit of the spirit of Beliar, for the angel of peace guideth his soul" (Benj. vi. 1). "Two spirits wait upon man—the spirit of truth, and the spirit of deceit. And in the midst is the spirit of the understanding of the mind, to which it belongeth to turn whithersoever it will" (Judah xx. 1, 2).

Naphtali tells of God's distribution of duty among those "created . . . after His own image": "according to the capacity of the body doth He implant the spirit"; "as a man's strength, so also is his work" (ii. 2-6).

(*e*) The ruling expectation was that after a time of sin,[2] desolation of the land, and dispersion of its inhabitants (Asher vii. 2), "the Lord God shall ap-

[1] *Cf.* Sir (Ecclesiasticus) xv. 16 f.; xlii. 24.

[2] The sin is enlarged upon in Iss. vi. 1-2: "In the last times your sons will forsake singleness, and . . . will draw near to malice; . . . and leaving husbandry, they will follow after their own wicked devices".

pear on earth, and save the sons of men" (Sim. vi. 5), and "gather together the righteous from amongst the Gentiles" (Naph. viii. 3). "After these things shall Abraham and Isaac and Jacob arise unto life. . . . And ye shall be the people of the Lord, and have one tongue. . . . And they who have died in grief shall arise in joy" (Judah xxv. 1-4). "And the saints shall rest in Eden, and in the New Jerusalem" (*cf.* Enoch xc. 29) "will the righteous rejoice" (Dan v. 12). "The last temple shall be more glorious than the first. And the twelve tribes shall be gathered together there, and all the Gentiles" (Benj. ix. 2). "And the Lord shall judge Israel first for their unrighteousness. And then shall He judge all the Gentiles" (Benj. x. 8, 9). Just as Malachi (i. 11) differs from Joel (iii. 17) as to the possibility of holiness among the heathen, so does the book of Testaments differ from that of Jubilees. The writer of the latter is a particularist: instead of Noah's prayer in Genesis ix. 27 being "God enlarge Japheth, and let him dwell in the tents of Shem," he renders the latter clause—"God shall dwell in the dwelling of Shem" (vii. 12); he even goes farther and declares that God placed spirits in authority over the nations "to lead them astray from Him" (xv. 31).

§ 3. Two Romances of Suffering and Action.

(*a*) *Tobit.* The story-telling instinct was strong among the Jews, as among all Orientals. It might adopt the form of Fable, such us served Jotham in

his endeavour to dissuade the men of Shechem from sheltering themselves under the shadow of a bramble (Judges ix. 7 ff.). It might have recourse to Parable, wherein the actors were men and women, but men and women whose names, if given at all, carried no association with them. It might use the form of a Romance,[1] which introducing well-known names of the past used them to advocate some needful principle of the present. There was a fourth alternative, the use of a fictitious name with a suggestive meaning. Somewhere in the second century B.C., a Pharisee, as we may conjecture, put into a story his conception of the ideal Israelite of that time. He was a "good" man in a family that was "good," Tobit, son of Tobiel, and father of Tobias.[2] He was a Northerner who dwelt near the sanctuary of Dan, but had never "sacrificed to the heifer Baal"; he went every year to Jerusalem to the feasts, offering first-fruits and tithes according to the instructions of Deborah, his grandmother, who had brought him up. He married within his tribe of Naphtali, and then was carried away to Nineveh in the Captivity of 722 B.C. There his fortunes prospered, but his integrity was tried, like that of Daniel in Babylon. Because he sought and buried those of his brethren whom Sennacherib slew, he was denounced to the king and suffered the loss of all his goods (i. 18-20). Because by handling corpses he incurred ceremonial pollution, he had to

[1] *Cf. O. T. H. L.*, pp. 3, 4.
[2] "Tob" in Hebrew means "good".

sleep outside his own house in the courtyard, and there was blinded through the muting of sparrows on the wall (ii. 1-10). Because of a dispute with his wife whether a kid were honestly come by or no, she turned against him with reproaches on the unprofitableness of his piety. So Tobit, utterly discouraged, like Job before him, entreated to "be released and become earth," "and go to the everlasting place" (iii. 3-6). In view of his desired death Tobit gives last instructions to his son, and we get an exhaustive view of what "righteousness" meant to a Pharisee of that time. "Give alms of thy substance"; "turn not away thy face from any poor man".[1] "Take not a strange wife, which is not of thy father's tribe." "Love thy brethren, and scorn" them "not in thy heart". "Let not the wages of any man which shall work for thee tarry with thee." "What thou thyself hatest, do to no man."[2] "Drink not wine unto drunkenness." "Pour out thy bread on the burial of the just."[3] "Ask counsel of every man that is wise." "And bless the Lord thy God at all times" (iv. 1-19).

Then the story which has involved the good man in misfortune proceeds to disclose God's workings on his behalf. Tobit had left ten talents of silver in trust with a brother Jew at Rages[4] on the far side of Media, and desired his son to take the handwriting and bring

[1] See *Teaching of the Apostles*, iv. 8.
[2] See *ibid.*, i. 2. [3] *Cf.* Sir (Ecclesiasticus) xxx. 18.
[4] Now Rai, near Teheran.

the deposit back. Tobias, seeking a man as guide, "found Raphael which was an angel; and he knew it not". The careful father will not accept Raphael's help until he has ascertained that he is of honest and good lineage, and the young man will not depart without his companion dog (v. 1-16). The first camping-place of the travellers was by the Tigris, and at his evening ablutions in the river Tobias encountered a fish who would have swallowed him up, but, emboldened by the angel, he "caught hold of the fish, and cast it up on the land". The angel declared it to be a fish of magic properties, whose heart, liver and gall should be put up safely (vi. 1-8). Mounting the Median range the travellers reach Ecbatana,[1] and lodge with Raguel, a kinsman of Tobias. Raguel's daughter, Sarah, was grievously vexed by a demon lover, Asmodæus, or in Persian Æshma-dæva.[2] He had invaded her bride-chamber, and slain seven husbands in succession, whose deaths were slanderously imputed to her, so that she was weary of life, and, like Tobit, entreating for death. Raphael tells his companion that Sarah is destined to be his bride, because according to the law of Moses[3] "it appertaineth to thee to take the inheritance". He meets the fears of Tobias by assuring him of the power of the heart and liver of the captured fish, if offered on the ashes of incense, to break the demon's spell. And as he promised, so

[1] This, and not Rages, should be the reading in vi. 9.
[2] *Cf.* Enoch xv. 3 ff., and Gen. vi. 1-4.
[3] *Cf.* Numbers xxxvi. 6 ff.

it fell out. In the bride-chamber the demon smelled the smoke and fled into the uppermost parts of Egypt, "and the angel bound him"[1] (vi. 9-viii. 3). Thus, despite the fears of Raguel, the marriage of Sarah and Tobias prospers, sanctified by their united prayers. In order that Tobias may remain for the customary fourteen days of the wedding-feast, Raphael goes forward alone to Rages taking the handwriting with him, and brings back "the bags with their seals" (viii. 4-ix. 6). Meanwhile the mother of Tobias falls into despair for her son's long absence, and goes out "every day into the way by which they went". And as she sat looking, she espied the travellers coming, "and the dog went after them".[2] Tobit went forth towards the door, but stumbled in his blindness, and his son ran unto him, and "took hold of his father: and he strake the gall" of the magic fish upon his eyes. They began to smart, and Tobit rubbed them until the white films scaled away, and he saw his son (x. 1-xi. 13). The guide bade father and son be thankful, do alms (for "alms doth deliver from death"), and exalt the name of God, for "it is good to keep close the secret of a king, but to reveal gloriously the works of God". Finally he discloses his own personality: "I am Raphael, one of the seven holy angels, which present the prayers of the saints"; "all these days did I appear

[1] *Cf.* Enoch x. 4.

[2] The Vulgate has the quaint addition in xi. 9: "Then the dog, who had been with them on the way, ran before, coming like a messenger and showed his joy by the caressing movement of his tail".

unto you; and I did neither eat nor drink, but ye saw a vision.[1] And now give God thanks: because I ascend to him that sent me: and write in a book all the things which have been done" (xi. 14-xii. 20).

The book with its strange gatherings from many sources gives an instructive insight into the Jewish mind in Maccabean times. The scrupulous piety of the godly man, the hopes for a holy Jerusalem to be builded gloriously according to the prophets[2] (xiii. 16-18), the confidence in a God that "scourgeth and sheweth mercy" (xiii. 2, 9), and exultation over fallen Nineveh (xiv. 15), are blended with stories[3] current in Babylon, with belief in the demons of Persia, and with trust in the guardianship of angels who use magical charms to work their wonders.

(*b*) *Judith.* The companion story moves on a higher level of action, and belongs to a particular phase of Jewish history. Patriotism was a quality which came and went among the inhabitants of Palestine. Before the Monarchy it furnished bright examples of daring and self-sacrifice in Deborah, and in the daughter of Jephthah. Under the Monarchy few instances of private heroism are recorded, for the people at large counted but little in politics. After the return, Judæa was only a province of Persia without aspirations save to be left free for its own worship. It was Antiochus Epiphanes who kindled a spirit of resistance, which

[1] Contrast Luke xxiv. 39-43. [2] *Cf.* Isa. liv. 11, 12.

[3] In xiv. 10 Tobit cites the example of Aman (or Nadan) and his treatment of Achiacharus, or Ahikar; *cf.* Hastings' *D.B.*, iv. p. 789.

beginning with the liberation of worship, went on to the love of a free country; then noble hearts beat high, and not content with the record of an historical Judas, the national literature sought to stir devotion by the presentment of Judith, the ideal daughter of Judæa.

The writer throws back the action of his story into the spacious days of Nebuchadnezzar, and spreads a broad canvas for his background. The whole East is in commotion. "The great king, the lord of all the earth" has summoned his vassals for battle against the Medes in the great plain "in the borders of Ragau".[1] Many come from the East, but many from the South and West make light of his commandment. When the Medes are overthrown, it remains to execute the king's wrath upon those who "followed not the word of his mouth" (i. 1-ii. 3). So Holofernes, chief captain of the Assyrian host, is sent to demand "earth and water" (ii. 7), and to compel all the nations to worship Nebuchadnezzar only, and "call upon him as god" (iii. 8). Thus the situation resembles that described in Daniel iii. After the great cities of the West and South had been forcibly taken, or had timorously yielded, Holofernes undertook the task of dealing with Judæa. He approached from the North, and halted in the plain of Esdraelon, near the pass in the hills which was guarded by the stronghold of Bethulia[2] (iii. 9 f., iv. 6). Achior, chief of Ammon,

[1] *I.e.* the Rages of Tobit, i. 14.

[2] *I.e.* Beth-eloah or the dwelling of God. Almost every name is significant, *e.g.* Achior=brother of light.

warns the Assyrians that a change had passed over the children of Israel: once they had departed from the way, but "now they are returned to their God," and "if there is no lawlessness in their nation," it were better to pass them by, "lest their Lord defend them" (v. 21). His advice is despised, and he himself is cast forth to find refuge in Bethulia. That stronghold is straitly shut up, and after thirty-four days of siege, water failing them, the inhabitants press Ozias, chief among the rulers, to deliver up the city: he answers "Let us yet endure five days,[1] in the which space the Lord our God shall turn his mercy toward us; for he will not forsake us utterly" (vii. 30).

Then Judith comes forward, a widow who still wears sackcloth for her husband some time dead, who fasts often, who is beautiful, wealthy, and God-fearing. She upbraids the rulers of the city for tempting God by setting Him a time, "for God is not as man, that he should be threatened. . . . Let us wait for the salvation that cometh from him. . . . For if we be taken so," (*i.e.* by cowardly surrender) "all Judæa shall sit upon the ground, and our sanctuary[2] shall be spoiled" (viii. 16-21). Ozias would have Judith pray for rain to fill the cisterns, but her soul has higher thoughts: "I will do a thing which shall go down to all generations among the

[1] *Cf.* 1 Sam. xi. 3.

[2] In iv. 3 the people of Judæa are spoken of as "newly come up from the captivity," and the house is said to have been "sanctified after the profanation".

children of our race" (viii. 32). Then Judith fortifies herself with prayer to the God of Simeon her father, who took sword in hand to avenge the deceit and violence done to Dinah.[1] The Assyrians, she says, "have purposed to profane thy sanctuary". "Thou art the Lord that breaketh the battles . . . give into my hand, which am a widow, the might that I have conceived, . . . for . . . thou art . . . a saviour of them that are without hope" (ix. 7-11).

Then Judith put off her sackcloth, and "decked herself bravely, to beguile the eyes of all men that should see her," and went forth with her maid carrying "pure bread," and vessels for her own use. To the Assyrian watch she called herself "a daughter of the Hebrews" in flight from their presence. Holofernes received her with honour in his tent, and she repeated to him the assurances of Achior, that the sword could not prevail against her people, "except they sin against their God". But (and this was the secret she had come to impart) they had sinned in intention, having sent to Jerusalem for licence to eat things reserved for the priests,[2] which sacrilege had also been committed in Jerusalem itself. So she, being "religious," would stay in the camp, until God told her that they had committed their sins: then she would lead Holofernes through Judæa, and seat him in the midst of Jerusalem. He declared Judith to be beautiful in countenance, and

[1] Gen. xxxiv., *cf.* on Jub. xxx. 17, p. 22 *supra*.
[2] *Cf.* Neh. x. 37; xiii. 10.

witty in words: if she only did as she had spoken, her God should be his God, and she should enter the harem of the king (x. 1-xi. 23).

We have full particulars of the precautions taken by Judith to preserve caste in the Assyrian camp. She would eat of no meats prepared for the chief captain of the host, nor drink out of his silver vessels; every night she went out into the valley and washed herself at the fountain, and "came in clean, and remained in the tent, until she took her meat toward evening" (xii. 1-9). On the fourth day Bagoas the eunuch invites her to come to his lord "to drink wine and be merry with us, and to be made this day as one of the daughters of the children of Asshur" (xii. 13). When all the other guests had departed, he who was "watching for a time to deceive her," was himself "deceived . . . to his destruction". For, when he lay upon his bed "overflown with wine," Judith took down his scimitar from the pillar of the bed and, after a prayer to the Lord God of Israel, smote off the head of Holofernes, and gave it to her maid; and she put it in her bag of victuals. And they twain went forth together unto prayer, according to their custom, "and went up to the mountain of Bethulia, and came to the gates thereof" (xiii. 10).

The gates opened to Judith's cry of "God is with us"; and Ozias welcomed her in the words of Deborah: "Blessed art thou . . . above all the women upon the earth". Before the head of Holofernes

was hung out upon the wall, Achior the Ammonite got sight of it, did reverence to Judith, and was joined by circumcision to the house of Israel "unto this day" (xiv. 10). It was an easy matter for the children of Israel to fall upon the Assyrians, paralysed by the loss of their general, and drive them with a great slaughter until they were past Damascus (xv. 5).

The high priest and "the senate of the children of Israel" came forth to see Judith, and to salute her as "the great glory of Israel". And all the women of Israel made a dance for her with branches[1] in their hands, the warriors following "in their armour with garlands": and she herself led the triumph-song of "Judæa Liberata" (xv. 8 - xvi. 1):—

Asshur came . . . with ten thousands of his host . . .
He said that he would burn up my borders . . .
The Almighty Lord brought them to nought by the hand of a woman (xvi. 4-6).
Her sandal ravished his eye,
And her beauty took his soul prisoner:
The scimitar passed through his neck (ver. 9).
The Persians quaked at her daring,
And the Medes were daunted at her boldness . . .
They perished by the battle of my Lord (ver. 10-12).
Woe to the nations that rise up against my race:
The Lord Almighty will take vengeance of them in the day of judgment . . .
And they shall weep and feel their pain for ever (ver. 17).

[1] The Greek is *θύρσους*, as in 2 Macc. x. 7, where it is rendered "wands wreathed with leaves".

CHAPTER III.

THE SUCCESSORS OF JOHN HYRCANUS (B.C. 105-63). (Jos., *Ant.*, xiii. 11 - xiv. 4).

§ 1. WHILE John Hyrcanus had been king virtually, his son *Aristobulus* proclaimed himself king openly by binding a diadem[1] on his head. The Oriental emblem then assumed seems to have carried with it the pride and cruelty of Oriental despots. Aristobulus put his mother into prison, where she was starved to death; he held all his brothers in bonds, except Antigonus, whom at first he favoured, but from whom he was quickly estranged by calumnies, and whom he was finally tricked[2] into assassinating. Then remorse fell upon the unhappy man, and he suffered intolerable pain, and died confessing his death to be the punishment "for shedding the blood of my relations". Such is the character given by Josephus to the son of John Hyrcanus, and the grandson of Simon who "sought the good of his nation" (1 Macc. xiv. 4). If it be altogether true, there has rarely been such an instance of sudden degeneration; but, with some apparent misgiving as to

[1] *Cf.* 1 Macc. i. 9, and article in Hastings' *D.B.*, vol. i., p. 604.
[2] By a plot of the Queen Salome Alexandra.

its truth, Josephus admits the serviceableness of Aristobulus to his country, and cites the witness of Strabo for his having been "naturally a man of equity, and of great modesty".[1] But apart from exaggeration there may well have been enough in the nature and actions of Aristobulus to alienate the Pharisees from a ruler who was not only king but high priest, officially bound to have compassion on his fellows, and not least of all upon those of his own family.

§ 2. Another son of John Hyrcanus, *Alexander* (known as Jonathan, or Jannæus, B.C. 104-78), succeeded to the throne and held it for twenty-six years. Early in the reign Ptolemy Lathyrus of Cyprus set himself to subdue Judæa, and inflicted a serious defeat on Alexander near the Jordan (Jos., *Ant.*, xiii. 12 §§ 4, 5). He followed up his victory by cruelly devastating the country, but, when he had advanced southward as far as Gaza, his mother Cleopatra sent her Jewish generals, Chelcias and Ananias, to oppose his advance into her dominions, and Judæa was made secure by an alliance with the queen of Egypt. Alexander took a terrible revenge on Gaza for having supported Ptolemy: he not only plundered the city, but slew five hundred of its senators who had taken sanctuary in the temple of Apollo. Whether through moral indignation at such cruelty, or only

[1] "Modesty" here represents *αἰδοῦς*; but it is difficult to render this by any word applicable to the character as described by Josephus, in view of Professor G. Murray's definition of *αἰδώς* as "horror of cruelty or treachery towards the helpless" (*Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 84).

through ecclesiastical prejudice, such as had been entertained against his father,[1] the charge of unworthiness was raised against him also: a ritual riot occurred at the Feast of Tabernacles, and as Alexander stood at the altar about to sacrifice, he was pelted with citrons from the branches carried by the worshippers. In his rage the royal high priest let loose upon them his mercenaries—the successors of those Carites[2] of monarchical times, whom Ezekiel (xliv. 7, 9) had hoped to see banished from the ideal temple of the future—and about 6,000 Jews perished in the sacred courts (B.C. 95). As a security against the repetition of such an outrage the altar and the temple were enclosed by a wooden screen preventing close access on the part of the multitude. At last the tension between Pharisees and Sadducees became so extreme as to bring about civil war. As in the later years of Judas Maccabæus the Hasideans sided with Syria against the Hasmoneans,[3] so now the extremists called in Demetrius King of Syria against their own king. Alexander was defeated in the open field and fled to the mountains; but there 6,000 of his subjects rallied to his help: and this accession of force so alarmed the Syrians that they retired out of the country. The traitorous Pharisees lay at the king's mercy; he pent them up in a stronghold which he

[1] This seems implied in the words of Josephus (xiii. 13 § 5): "reviled him as descended from a woman who had been a captive".

[2] 2 Kings xi. 4.

[3] *Cf. O. T. H. L.*, p. 274; *supra*, p. 8.

besieged and took, and then occurred what Josephus calls "one of the most barbarous actions in the world". As the conqueror "was feasting with his concubines in the sight of all the city he ordered about 800 of" his Pharisee prisoners "to be crucified, and while they were still living ordered the throats of their children and wives to be cut before their eyes" (Jos., *Ant.*, xiii. 14 § 2). "It was the first distinct appearance of the Cross on the hills of Palestine,"[1] and that at the instance of the Lord's anointed high priest, whose name went down to posterity as Thracidas, or, as one might say, the Cossack. If subsequent literature, mostly attributable to Pharisees, has a revengeful tone about it, one must recall the two massacres of Alexander, and make some allowance for the bitterness of the vanquished in the civil war.

At last, what with hard drinking, a persistent attack of ague, and unceasing labours with the army, Alexander fell ill, and died during one of his many campaigns across the Jordan. As he lay dying his wife asked him: "To whom dost thou thus leave me and my children, who are destitute of all other support, and that though thou knowest how much ill-will thy nation bears thee?" His advice was to reverse the policy of the last thirty years and "put some

[1] Stanley's *Jewish Church*, iii., p. 385. It was apparently in old times only the malefactor's corpse which was hung up "unto the Lord before the sun" (Numb. xxv. 4), to bring God's justice to public notice.

authority into the hands of the Pharisees," for it was by insulting them, he said, that he had incurred the ill-will of the nation (Jos., *Ant.*, xiii. 15 § 5).

§ 3. The widowed queen, *Salome Alexandra*, took upon herself the rule over Judæa, and was the first woman that had reigned there since Queen Athaliah in the ninth century. Her strength lay in her submission to the Pharisees, who leaving her the name of queen "differed in nothing from lords of the realm". One thing for which they had clamoured came about of itself, the separation of the sacerdotal from the royal power. The high priesthood remained indeed with the Hasmonean house, but in the hands of its eldest male representative, Hyrcanus, who "did not meddle with politics". Not that domestic or national peace was yet secured. There was a younger son of the queen, Aristobulus, as bold and active by nature as his brother was quiet: he headed a deputation of Sadducees, who came to the palace with loud complaints against the dominant party. Not content with restoring the traditional ritual, and recalling their own exiles, the Pharisees were set upon proscribing all the partisans of Alexander. These requested that the queen would either dismiss them from her service, that they might find occupation with Aretas of Petra, or, retaining them in the kingdom, give them the custody of her fortresses (Jos., *Ant.*, xiii. 16 §§ 1, 2). Alexandra, thinking to scatter the malcontents, adopted the latter alternative, unfortunately for herself; for at a time when his mother was dangerously ill, Aristobulus stole

away from Jerusalem, rallied his father's friends in the fortresses, and set himself at the head of a great army (*id. ib.* §§ 3-5).

At that crisis Queen Alexandra died at the age of seventy-three. Josephus assures us that she "showed no signs of the weakness of her sex; for she was sagacious to the highest degree in her love of rule, and demonstrated at once by her doings her practical genius, and the little understanding that men show who make frequent mistakes in ruling". And yet, spite of this eulogium, that same writer has to confess that "by siding in her opinions with those that bore ill-will to her family" she "filled the palace after her death with calamities and confusion" (Jos., *Ant.*, xiii. 16 § 6).

§ 4. The death of the queen (B.C. 69) left the two brothers, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, face to face. A battle at Jericho decided the fate of Judæa in favour of the ambitious and energetic brother, to whom Hyrcanus yielded his claims to royalty (Jos., *Ant.*, xiv. 1 § 2). And then things might have gone well with Aristobulus, but for the existence of two interfering neighbours. Israel's old enemy of Edom had left their former dwelling "in the clefts of the rock" of Petra[1] and had over-run the South country, occupying Hebron and forming the state of Idumæa. This state John Hyrcanus had subdued[2] in B.C. 109, circumcising its inhabitants and making it a part of his kingdom. The oversight of it

[1] Obadiah i. 3. [2] P. 12 *supra*.

was entrusted to a native chief, Antipater, who spread his influence to the West among the men of Gaza and Ascalon, and to the East among the Nabathean Arabs of Petra, over whom Aretas was ruler. Antipater's son, a second Antipater, interfered in the affairs of Jerusalem with the view of setting up Hyrcanus in the place of Aristobulus. With this object he tempted Hyrcanus to leave Judæa and take up his abode in the natural stronghold of Petra. In his name as rightful king, Aretas led an army of 50,000 horse and foot against Aristobulus, and besieged him within the temple at Jerusalem. There was a military deadlock, when a foreigner from the far West, Marcus Æmilius Scaurus, appeared upon the scene, and ordered Aretas to depart, "or else," he said, "he should be declared an enemy to the Romans" (Jos., *Ant.*, xiv. 1 § 3-2 § 3).

§ 5. The Jews had heard the name of Rome before, but only as that of a distant friend, granting them her alliance against the common enemy in Syria. But in the interval since Judas[1] and Jonathan[2] Rome had come closer to Judæa. About the time of Simon's death she formed (B.C. 133) the lands round Pergamum into the province of Asia; about the time of Hyrcanus' death she organised Cilicia as a province (probably B.C. 102) and brought her frontier to within a short distance of Antioch. There the Seleucids, weakened by civil wars, were finding it difficult to hold their own against the advancing

[1] 1 Macc. viii.; *O. T. H. L.*, p. 275. [2] 1 Macc. xii. 1-4.

powers of the East. Parthians had already torn away their trans-Euphratic dominions, and now Tigranes[1] of Armenia, having united both halves of that kingdom under his rule, came down on Syria, and captured Ptolemais. But the most daring Oriental of his time was Mithridates[2] of Pontus, who traced his line back to King Darius and bade fair to erect an Empire almost as extensive as that of Darius. About the middle of the reign of Alexander Jannæus he had so successfully imitated the Persians as to have crossed into Greece and captured Athens, where he maintained himself for a time against Rome. But in B.C. 85 Sulla expelled Mithridates from Europe, and Lucullus subsequently drove him from his own kingdom, and following him into Armenia planted the standards of Rome across the Euphrates. But this success brought about a revival of Oriental patriotism, which sought to free Asia altogether from Europeans, and succeeded in thrusting them back into the neighbourhood of Ephesus. It required all the energy and skill of a third general, Pompey, to bring this life and death struggle to an end, after a continuance of over twenty years. The end came in a complete Roman victory at the place afterwards called Nicopolis in the wilds of Lesser Armenia (B.C. 66). This victory was destined to be the turning-point in the fortunes of the Jews, for they were no longer

[1] Jos., *Ant.*, xiii. 16 § 4.

[2] For his character see Mommsen, *History of Rome*, bk. iv., ch. viii. (vol. iv., p. 6 ff. in the edition of 1908).

thereafter to look to the East for their overlords but to Rome and the West.

§ 6. Pompey found himself at once called upon to bring order out of chaos in Eastern lands. Syria had been held by Tigranes, who submitted to Pompey in B.C. 66; and Pompey declared it a Roman province. At Damascus, in the spring of B.C. 63, he received deputations with presents from the neighbouring peoples. Judæa was fully represented. The rival brothers pleaded in person their respective claims, Hyrcanus urging his seniority, Aristobulus his greater competence. But there also appeared Jews who opposed them both, declaring that the nation "did not desire to be under kingly government, because the form of government they had received from their forefathers was that of subjection to the priests of that God whom they worshipped" (Jos., *Ant.*, xiv. 3 § 2).

Pompey, while seeming to favour Aristobulus, postponed a final decision till his own arrival at Jerusalem. He was advancing up the pass from Jericho,[1] when news came that his lieutenant, Gabinius, had been refused admission by the soldiers of Aristobulus. The party of Aristobulus now fortified themselves within the area of the temple, which served as Acropolis to Jerusalem, while the party of Hyrcanus admitted the Romans into the city. There followed a long siege

[1] Dean Stanley observes that he was the only conqueror of Jerusalem that approached it from the East (*The Jewish Church*, iii., p. 401).

of the temple, which was attacked with catapults placed on a mound[1] upon its northern side—which mound, says Josephus, would never have been completed but for the national practice of resting on the seventh day. In the consulship of M. Tullius Cicero, B.C. 63, "in the third month, on the day of the fast" Jerusalem fell. The priests suffered death at the very altar of sacrifice, and a Gentile conqueror entered the Holy of Holies; but unlike Antiochus Epiphanes,[2] "Pompey touched nothing"—neither the sacred vessels, nor the hoarded treasures—"on account of his regard to religion" (Jos., *Ant.*, xiv. 4 § 4).

How Pompey settled the government of Judæa belongs to a separate chapter. What concerns us here is the final loss of political liberty in Judæa.

This liberty began with the heroism of Judas Maccabæus, who rescued the temple from Syrian profanation in B.C. 165; it continued as Jonathan and Simon in succession wrung privileges from their Syrian overlords, until they became virtually independent kings as well as national high priests; it reached its highest and widest in dominion and influence with John Hyrcanus about B.C. 110, to begin an immediate and fatal decline through the quarrel of that monarch with the Pharisee section of his subjects; it suffered from outbursts of faction during the reigns of the three successors of John Hyrcanus, to fall finally with the fratricidal strife of Aristobulus

[1] χῶμα, Jos., *Ant.*, xiv. 4 § 2 = χάραξ of Luke xix. 43.
[2] 2 Macc. v. 15, 16.

and Hyrcanus[1] aggravating the religious discord of the day, and making civil unity impossible. If the words, however, of the embassy to Pompey at Damascus were true,[2] the people at large preferred to lose their national independence rather than submit to a government wherein the high priest was subordinate to the king.

[1] Jos., *Ant.*, xiv. 4 § 5. [2] See p. 49 *supra*.

CHAPTER IV.

POLEMICAL LITERATURE.

The Pharisees suffered much under Alexander Jannæus, and then again, after a brief interval, in the turbulent times which followed the death of their patroness, Queen Alexandra. As opportunity offered they took their revenge through the sword of the executioner;[1] but they had another weapon in reserve, the pen of the ready writer. Whether the rich and indolent Sadducees produced at the time written replies is uncertain.[2] What is certain is that no such vindication has survived to our days, and that the whole advantage of the controversy rests with the uncontradicted words of the Pharisees.

§ 1. The Book of Enoch, Part iii. (chs. xci.-cviii.).

In choosing the literary instrument which might best chastise their foes, the Pharisees availed themselves of a tradition that the patriarch Enoch had written and bequeathed books descriptive of evil days to come. This device had already served the patriotic Jews of the second century in their struggle against

[1] See Jos., *Ant.*, xiii. 16 § 2.

[2] But Enoch xcviii. 15 appears to imply that they did.

those among themselves who sided with Syria.[1] The struggle of the first century between the strict, down-trodden Pharisees, and the lax, dominant Sadducees was quite as bitter, and issued in the production of a third part of the prophecy of Enoch.

(*a*) Enoch is described as instructing his sons to "love righteousness," and expect judgment on sinners, and as contrasting the fortunes of the foolish and the wise. We can perceive that these words are not mere commonplaces of advice, but imply that the friends of the writer are the righteous and wise, his opponents the sinners and the fools. So interpreting, we arrive at the character of the Sadducee as he appeared to the Pharisee, his contemporary. He tempts men "to make wisdom wicked," engrafting Hellenism on Hebraism (xciv. 5). His riches make him "appear like the righteous," so flourishing is his outward condition (xcvi. 4). He exhausts himself on splendour and on food (xcviii. 2). He puts forward as excuse for sin that it has been "sent upon earth," and is inevitable (xcviii. 4). He eats blood in total disregard of the Levitical laws (xcviii. 11). He writes down lying and godless words (xcviii. 15). (One wishes that these writings on the Sadducee side of the controversy had been preserved for us.) He builds houses, like his prototype in the age of Jeremiah,[2] "through the grievous toil of others" (xcix. 13). He rejects the eternal heritage of his fathers, for his soul follows after idols. He aids

[1] *O. T. H. L.*, p. 297. [2] Jer. xxii. 13.

oppression and slays his neighbours "until the day of the great judgment" (xcix. 14, 15).

(*b*) But some act of divine justice according to Enoch was near at hand. Seven weeks of the world's history having passed (xciii. 3-9), the eighth would be a week "of righteousness, and a sword will be given to it, that judgment . . . may be executed on those who commit oppression" (xci. 12). "In those days the fathers together with their sons will be smitten in one place . . . and the sinner will not withhold his hand from his honoured brother[1] . . . And the horses will walk up to the breast in the blood of sinners"[2] (c. 1-3).

(*c*) But it is not enough for the Pharisee to look forward to some one great day of vengeance upon earth. He is stung by the sceptical words which Sadducees speak over him in his death, saying: "As we die, so die the righteous, and what benefit do they reap from their deeds? Behold even as we, so do they die in grief and darkness, and what advantage have they over us? from henceforth we are equal" (cii. 6, 7). But Enoch will not have it so. He entreats the righteous to be hopeful; he swears to them by the glory of God that he has read the mystery of the future in "the heavenly tables" (ciii. 1, 2).

There follow two chapters (ciii., civ.) of prime importance in the history of Hebrew thought. Syrian

[1] Professor Charles detects a reference to the murder of Antigonus by his brother Aristobulus I.; *cf.* p. 41 *supra*.

[2] See Rev. xiv. 20.

persecution had taught suffering Jews that it became[1] God to "raise up" those who had died for His laws "unto an eternal renewal of life".[2] Hasmonean persecution caused suffering Pharisees to extend their confidence in God yet farther. It became Him to distinguish between the righteous and sinners from the day of death onward. They all go indeed "unto one place,"[3] Sheol, but they go there with an individual character which makes that place different to each (cii. 9, 10). Whoever dies content with wickedness and wealth becomes wretched in Sheol, descending into darkness, and chains, and a burning fire (ciii. 5-8).[4] Whoever dies in righteousness, his spirit "will live, and rejoice, and be glad" (ciii. 4); and angels mindful of him for good shall open the portals of heaven, and he shall become companion of the hosts of heaven (civ. 1-6). It is the first assertion in Jewish literature that heaven is the predestined home of God's loyal people.[5] And, as if to counterbalance that blessedness, there is particular mention of the "waste wilderness . . . where there is no earth," and Enoch declares: "I saw there something like a viewless cloud; for by reason of its depth I could not look thereon, and I saw a flame of fire burning brightly, and there circled there things like shining mountains and they swept to and fro" (cviii.

[1] See Heb. ii. 10, vii. 26, ἔπρεπεν.
[2] 2 Macc. vii. 9; *O. T. H. L.*, p. 268.
[3] Eccl. iii. 20. [4] *Cf. O. T. H. L.*, p. 299.
[5] Hastings' *D.B.*, extra vol., p. 305.

3, 4). There is a mysterious vagueness in the words, as though the writer were describing the Inferno of Dante, but they had a very practical value for the Pharisees in their years of persecution. They brought the great perplexity [1] of the sufferings of the godly one stage nearer to solution. The perplexity would not outlast death. Therefore the Pharisees might say to one another through the mouth of Enoch—"Be hopeful . . . and persist in your cry for judgment, and it will appear to you; for all your tribulation will be visited on the rulers, and on all their helpers and on those who plundered you. Be hopeful, and cast not away your hope; [2] for ye will have great joy as the angels of heaven" (civ. 2-4).

§ 2. Interpolations in the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs".

If the Pharisees, who had expected Messiah to come from the house of Levi and the family of Hashmon, were disappointed when John Hyrcanus turned from them to the Sadducees, they were more than disappointed, they were embittered, by the persecution of Alexander Jannæus; nor did the temporary restoration of their influence under Queen Alexandra conciliate them, seeing that, after her death, Aristobulus their enemy proved stronger than Hyrcanus their friend. What could be done with respect to the praises of the dynasty written in the book of the

[1] *Cf. O. T. H. L.*, p. 309 ff. [2] *Cf.* Heb. x. 23, 35.

Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs?. They could not be revoked, but they might be modified by additions.

And here we come across a feature of the Jewish mind which largely affected their writings. They had little or no regard in literature for consistency;[1] not only do we find statement at variance with statement in a blended narrative, but sentiment contradicting sentiment in adjacent sentences. In books claiming to be prophetic appearances are saved by the fact that everything is expressed equally in terms of the future; but such a scholar as Professor Charles can detect and notify passages in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs which could only have come into being at a later date than that of the body of the book —after the Pharisees had ceased to fix their hopes on a priest-king of the Hasmonean family.

(*a*) *Levi* dwells upon the coming transgressions of his children. "At the end of the ages . . . ye shall bring a curse upon our race, because the light of the law which was given to lighten every man, this ye shall desire to destroy by teaching commandments contrary to the ordinances of God" (xiv. 1-4). A specific charge is brought against the Sadducean priesthood which seems to arise out of the history of Alexander Jannæus:[2] "the offerings of the Lord ye shall rob, . . . eating them contemptuously with

[1] See Professor Lofthouse in *The Expositor*, Feb. 1911, p. 104 f.

[2] Jos., *Ant.*, xiii. 14 § 2; *cf.* p. 44 *supra*.

harlots" (xiv. 5). A further charge—"the daughters of the Gentiles shall ye take to wife, purifying them with an unlawful purification" (xiv. 6)—points to an attempt at evading the whole system of national holiness established by Ezra.[1] In a word Levi foresees an age which should repeat the "seventy weeks" of pollution and persecution which culminated in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes (xvi. 1).

(*b*) *Judah* has the same note of warning concerning his royal descendants as Levi has concerning his priestly descendants. "For the kings shall be as sea-monsters. They shall swallow men like fishes. . . . And the Lord shall bring upon them divisions one against another. And there shall be continual wars in Israel; and among men of another race shall my kingdom be brought to an end, until the salvation of Israel shall come" (xxi. 7 - xxii. 2). "Because of your lewdness, and witchcrafts and idolatries . . . the Lord shall bring upon you famine and pestilence, death and the sword . . . until the Lord visit you, when with perfect heart ye repent . . . and He bring you up from captivity among the Gentiles" (xxiii. 1-5). "Then shall the sceptre of my kingdom shine forth; and from your root shall arise a stem; and from it shall grow a rod of righteousness to the Gentiles, to judge and to save all that call upon the Lord"[2] (xxiv. 5, 6).

(*c*) *Zebulun* utters a parable on the evils of faction: "Observe the waters, and know when they flow to-

[1] See *O. T. H. L.*, p. 213 ff. [2] *Cf.* Joel ii. 32.

gether, they sweep along stones, trees, earth, and other things. But if they are divided into many streams, the earth swalloweth them up, and they become of no account. So shall ye also be if ye be divided. . . . Ye shall follow two kings, and shall work every abomination. And your enemies shall lead you captive. . . . And after these things ye shall remember the Lord and repent. . . . And after these things shall there arise unto you the Lord Himself, the light of righteousness. . . . And ye shall see Him in Jerusalem, for His name's sake" (ix. 1-8).

§ 3. The Book of Enoch, Part iv. (chs. xxxvii.-lxx.).

The fourth part of Enoch holds a place in the development of Jewish thought midway between the vision of Daniel (ch. vii.) concerning the judgment to come, and the fuller visions of St. John in the Apocalypse.

(*a*) The patriarch visits "the mansions of the holy," where the "Elect One of righteousness and of faith" has "his dwelling-place under the wings of the Lord of Spirits". There "those who sleep not"[1] bless God "saying, 'Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Spirits'" (xxxix. 4-12). There Enoch saw "a multitude beyond number and reckoning, who stood before the Lord of Spirits," and "four presences different from those that sleep not"—Michael, the merciful; Rufael, the healer; Gabriel, the intercessor; and Fanuel,[2]

[1] *I.e.* Watchers, or angels; see p. 18 *supra*.

[2] Elsewhere called Uriel; see Enoch xx. 2.

"fending off the Satans" (xl. 1-9). There also he witnessed "how the actions of men are weighed upon the balance"[1] (xli. 1). He saw "One who had a head of days, and His head was white like wool,[2] and with Him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man and his face was full of graciousness". Being asked who and whence he was, the angel who went with Enoch answered him: "This is the Son of Man[3] . . . with whom dwelleth righteousness, and who reveals all the treasures of that which is hidden, because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him" (xlvi. 1-3). Enoch continues: "And in those days I saw the Head of Days when He had seated Himself on the throne of His glory, and the books of the living[4] were opened before Him. . . . And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy that . . . the prayer of the righteous was heard, and the blood of the righteous required[5] before the Lord of Spirits" (xlvii. 3, 4). "And the Lord of Spirits placed the Elect One on the throne of glory" (lxi. 8) and "commanded the kings and the mighty, . . . and said 'Open your eyes and lift up your horns if ye are able to recognise the Elect One'.[6] . . . And they will see and recognise

[1] *Cf.* Job xxxi. 6. [2] *Cf.* Dan. vii. 9.

[3] Professor Charles (pp. 51, 315) points out that this definite title denoting a supernatural person is found here for the first time in Jewish literature, and is historically the source of the New Testament designation.

[4] *Cf.* Ps. lxix. 28. [5] *Cf.* Rev. vi. 9-11.

[6] Hitherto, though chosen before the creation, he had been hidden with God, and revealed only to the elect (xlviii. 6, 7; lxii. 6, 7).

him" seated on the throne of his glory. "Then shall pain come upon them as on a woman in travail" and they "will fall down on their faces before him, . . . and supplicate for mercy at his hands. Nevertheless that Lord of Spirits will so press them that they will hastily go forth from His presence . . . and darkness will be piled upon their faces" (lxii. 1-10). They will implore God's "angels of punishment, to whom they were delivered, to grant them a little respite" "from descending into the flame of the pain of Sheol,"[1] but they "are driven away and obtain it not". "This is the ordinance and judgment of the mighty and the kings, and the exalted" (lxiii. 1-12).

(*b*) But the vision of Enoch had its brighter side. He saw angels who took to themselves wings, and flew towards the North,[2] and long cords were given them to measure[3] the inheritance of the saints, that it might be large enough for them all (lxi. 1-3).

"And the righteous will be in the light of the sun, and the elect in the light of eternal life: . . . there will be peace to the righteous in the name of the Lord of the world. And after that it will be said to the holy that they should seek in heaven[4] the secrets of righteousness, the heritage of faith, . . . and there will be unceasing light and on a reckoning of the days they will not enter" (lviii. 3-6).

[1] *Cf. supra*, pp. 55, 56. [2] *Cf.* Isa. xiv. 13.
[3] *Cf.* Zech. ii. 1-4; *O. T. H. L.*, p. 192.
[4] See *supra*, p. 55.

(*c*) The visions end with a forecast of the great Renewal to come: "from henceforth there will be nothing that is corruptible; for the Son of Man has appeared and sits on the throne of his glory, and all evil will pass away before his face and depart" (lxix. 29).

Twice in the course of this book (xlviii. 10, lii. 4) we come upon the expression "His," *i.e.* the Lord's, "Anointed," used of the Messiah or Christ. It is the earliest technical use of that title as denoting not a personage of history, but an ideal person of prophecy, chosen of God to govern and to judge in His name. "He will be a staff to the righteous . . . and he will be the light of the Gentiles and the hope of those who are troubled of heart" (xlviii. 4).

§ 4. The Psalms of Solomon.

Three bitter grievances went to the composition of the Psalms of Solomon. The writer was a Pharisee living in the decadent days of royalty. He was keenly sensitive to the evils prevalent in his country, and he attributed them in almost equal proportions to the profanity of the Sadducees, the misconduct of the Hasmoneans, and the arrogance of Pompey.

(*a*) The approach and victory of the Romans[1] are related with a minuteness which recalls the words of Isaiah[2] concerning the Assyrians. "Suddenly the

[1] *Cf.* the account in ch. iii. *supra.* [2] Ch. x. 28 ff.

alarm of war was heard before me" (i. 2), "the sound of a mighty people as of an exceeding mighty wind" (viii. 2). God "brought him that is from the utmost part of the earth" (Pompey), "whose stroke is mighty; he decreed war against Jerusalem and her land. The princes of the land met him with joy . . . they opened the gates that led unto Jerusalem" (viii. 16-19). "When the sinful man waxed proud, he cast down fenced walls with a battering-ram. . . . The heathen went up against thine altar, they trampled it down, yea, with their sandals [1] in their pride" (ii. 1, 2). "A stranger to our race" (xvii. 9) "poured out the blood of the dwellers in Jerusalem like the water of uncleanness" (viii. 23). "In the fury of his wrath he sent them away even unto the west. And the princes of the land he turned into derision and spared them not" (xvii. 14).[2]

But the enemies of Jerusalem exceeded their commission,[3] "They have done it not in zeal, but in the lust of their soul"; therefore the Psalmist prays, "Delay not, O God, to recompense it upon their heads, to turn the pride of the dragon [4] to dishonour" (ii. 27-29). And his prayer is answered by a vision: "God showed to me that insolent one lying

[1] *Cf.* Exodus iii. 5.

[2] This refers to the captivity of Aristobulus and his children; see p. 69 *infra*.

[3] Compare what Isaiah (x. 5-15) says of the King of Assyria.

[4] Similarly Nebuchadnezzar is compared to a dragon in Jer. li. 34.

pierced upon the high-places of Egypt . . . even his dead body lying corrupted upon the waves in great contempt: and there was none to bury him" [1] (ii. 30, 31).

(*b*) The Psalmist has the faith of his nation as expressed in the Book of Lamentations (i. 8, 9) with regard to an earlier capture of the city: "Jerusalem hath grievously sinned; . . . therefore is she come down wonderfully". And the Psalmist has no doubt about the particular sin: "The heathen went up against thine altar . . . because the sons of Jerusalem defiled the holy things of the Lord, and polluted the gifts of God with iniquities" (ii. 2, 3). The sacrilege committed by the Romans was the sequel and punishment of a sacrilege committed by the Jews themselves, greater than that of the heathen (viii. 14). This sacrilege is traced back to the times of John Hyrcanus and his son, Aristobulus, when the high priesthood was in royal hands, and when royalty turned its face from the scrupulous Pharisees to the laxer Sadducees (xvii. 6-8). To the Sadducees are ascribed such vicious acts as deserved all the horrors of captivity; but the writer dwells even more on the infractions of orthodox ritual: "They went up to the altar of the Lord when they were full of all uncleanness; yea, even in their separation they pol-

[1] According to Plutarch (*vit. Pomp.*, 80) Pompey received funeral rites from a freedman; but there seems to have been a form of the tradition which left it doubtful whether he had been buried; *cf.* Martial, v. 74.

luted the sacrifices, eating them like profane meats "[1] (viii. 9-13).

Two Psalms (iv., xii.) are specially directed against a typical adversary, and we find that the Sadducees of this age appeared to the Pharisees very much as the Pharisees themselves of a later age appeared to Jesus Christ. "He surpasseth in words, yea in outward show he surpasseth all; he is austere in speech . . . and his hand is first upon the sinner, as though he were full of zeal; yet he himself is guilty" (iv. 2, 3). "Let God destroy them that live in hypocrisy in the company of the saints" and "lay bare the deeds of men that are men-pleasers"[2] (iv. 7, 8).

The Psalmist of these latter days is not behind his predecessors in the curses uttered upon his enemies. "Let his life, O Lord, be spent in pain, in poverty and want". "Let the flesh of the men-pleasers be torn in pieces by the beasts of the field. . . . Let ravens peck out the eyes of the men that work hypocrisy" (iv. 17-22).

(*c*) The most edifying portion of the book is that which dwells upon the *παιδεία* of God, *i.e.*, man's education through suffering. "Blessed is the man whom the Lord remembereth with reproving: and he is fenced about from the way of evil by affliction,

[1] *Cf.* notes by Ryle and James. The prayer in time of dearth, "Make not thy hand heavy upon us, that we sin not by reason of our sore necessity" (v. 8) recalls the "sin against their God" spoken of in Judith xi. 10-15.

[2] The word rendered "men-pleasers" occurs in the Greek Version of Ps. liii. 5.

that he may be cleansed from sin" (x. 1). "When my soul slumbered and fell away from the Lord . . . He pricked [1] me as a man pricketh his horse, that I might watch unto him" (xvi. 1, 4). "The righteous is chastened secretly; that the sinner may not rejoice over the righteous" (xiii. 7).

And this educational purpose of God could be traced all through the national life, past, present, and future. "Israel was led away captive into a strange land, because they departed from the Lord which redeemed them" (ix. 1). "Faithful is the Lord . . . unto such as abide his chastening" (xiv. 1). "God will have mercy upon the needy in the day of gladness of Israel" (x. 7). "God hath had mercy upon Israel: he hath visited [2] them. Stand up on high, O Jerusalem; and behold thy children gathered from the East and the West together by the Lord" (xi. 2, 3).[3]

(*d*) It has been shown in earlier chapters that ever since the return from Captivity the hope of a Messiah attached itself from time to time to some champion of the national faith: to Zerubbabel of the house and lineage of David, to Simon the Maccabee, or to John Hyrcanus in the days of his greatness. But when John Hyrcanus disappointed the Pharisees,[4] then

[1] *Cf.* Acts xxvi. 14.

[2] *Cf.* Luke i. 68.

[3] On the restoration of Israel consult Ryle and James on this Psalm.

[4] *Cf.* "The king was a transgressor, and the judge was disobedient, and the people sinful" (xvii. 22).

Jewish conceptions of their future changed and became more spiritual; then the faithful turned to Jehovah with a fervour born of disappointment, and prayed: "Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them their king, the son of David, in the time which thou, O God, knowest, that he may reign over Israel thy servant" (xvii. 23).

There follows a full and striking description of the desired king, "the Lord Messiah".[1] "He shall purge Jerusalem and make it holy, even as it was in the days of old" (xvii. 33). "He shall convict the sinners in the thoughts of their hearts. And he shall gather together a holy people," and "shall take knowledge of them, that they be all the sons of their God, and shall divide them upon the earth according to their tribes" (xvii. 27-30). "He shall glorify the Lord in a place to be seen of the whole earth; . . . so that the nations may come from the ends of the earth to see his glory.[2] . . . He shall not put his trust in horse and rider and bow, nor shall he multiply unto himself gold and silver for war,[3] nor by ships shall he gather confidence for the day of battle. . . . He himself also is pure from sin,[4] so that he may rule a mighty people, . . . for God shall cause him to be mighty through the spirit of holiness" (xvii. 32-42).

[1] The Greek expression in xvii. 36 is the same that is rendered "Christ the Lord" in Luke ii. 11.

[2] *Cf.* Isa. lxvi. 18 ff. [3] *Cf.* Deut. xvii. 16, 17.

[4] *Cf.* Test. Judah xxiv. 1.

The description of Messiah draws towards its close with the words: "This is the majesty of the king of Israel, which God hath appointed to raise him up over the house of Israel, to instruct him". But the final word runs: "The Lord," that is Jehovah, "he is our king from henceforth and even for evermore" (xvii. 47-51).

It is the glory of this book of Jewish literature that the writer rose through disappointment to a high conception of God's purpose to Israel: not satisfied with obedience to a dead Law of commandments, he yearns for the coming of a Person who shall emancipate, purify, and teach the nation: whose "words shall be as the words of the holy ones in the midst of the peoples that have been sanctified" (xvii. 49).

It may well be that among those who read the Psalms of Solomon soon after their first appearance was that "man in Jerusalem whose name was Simeon," spoken of by St. Luke (ii. 25, 26) as "looking for the consolation of Israel," and that its spiritual teaching enabled him to recognise "the Lord's Christ"[1] in the infant brought up by its parents from Bethlehem to the temple of Jerusalem.

[1] Compare the *βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν χριστὸς κύριος* of Ps. Sol. xvii. 36, with *τὸν χριστὸν κυρίου* of Luke ii. 26.

CHAPTER V.

THE ROMAN RULE (B.C. 63-40). (Jos., *Ant.*, xiv. 4-14.)

§ 1. POMPEY marked the close of Judæan independence by carrying away Aristobulus and his children to Rome, by stripping Judæa of all her Hasmonean conquests, and making her a unit within the wide province of Syria, which extended from the Parthian frontier on the East to the Egyptian frontier on the South. The first governor over Syria was Marcus Æmilius Scaurus, and under him Hyrcanus as High Priest and Ethnarch[1] administered affairs in Jerusalem. Another governor, Gabinius (B.C. 57-54), set himself to commend the Roman rule by granting certain forms of local autonomy; he set up "synedria" at five centres: Jerusalem, Gadara, Amathus (probably Emmaus), Jericho and Sepphoris; and these synedria, we are told by Josephus, governed the people, so that according to him the event of B.C. 63 consisted in the change from a monarchy to an aristocracy (Jos., *Ant.*, xiv. 5 § 4).[2]

[1] Jos., *Ant.*, xiv. 12 § 3. *Cf.* 1 Macc. xiv. 47 and p. 10 *supra*.

[2] Graetz (*History of the Jews*, ii., p. 71) does not think that this scheme of synedria survived the departure of Gabinius.

§ 2. But before the Roman settlement was in working order, attempts had been made by the Hasmoneans to recover power. First Alexander, the king's son, and then Aristobulus himself, escaping from captivity, seized upon the family fortresses of Alexandrium in the hills of Ephraim, and Machærus[1] in the hills of Moab, and carried on hostilities from thence. After Aristobulus had been re-captured, Alexander, in the absence of Gabinius in Egypt, succeeded in gathering a great army and killed all the Romans he could find. But on the return of Gabinius, the Hasmonean Pretender and the 30,000 Jews with him were finally beaten near Mount Tabor (Jos., *Ant.*, xiv. 5, 6; *Jewish War*, i. 8).

§ 3. In the year B.C. 54 Jerusalem paid the penalty of lying near the road of the proconsul Crassus on his expedition against the Parthians. He treated the treasures of Jehovah, which Pompey had spared, as he treated the treasures of Derceto at Hierapolis, and "carried away all the gold that was in the Holy of Holies" (Jos., *Ant.*, xiv. 7 § 1).[2] It may be surmised therefore that there was joy in Jerusalem when news arrived of his defeat at Carrhæ (B.C. 53); but it must have been joy tempered with alarm, for Parthian occupation would have been worse than Roman rule; and that might well have occurred but for the energy and prudence of one of the surviving

[1] *Cf.* Conder, *Heth and Moab*, pp. 149-151.

[2] Josephus goes on to explain for Gentile information "we have no public money but what belongs to God" (*ibid.*, § 2).

Roman officers, Gaius Cassius. He held firm in Antioch when Syria was invaded; and finally in B.C. 50 the Parthians withdrew behind the Euphrates.

§ 4. Every change of fortune in Rome during the civil wars had some corresponding effect on Judæa. Julius Cæsar after his return from Gaul in B.C. 49 contemplated a restoration of the Hasmoneans to Judæa; but his plans were frustrated by the partisans of Pompey, who poisoned Aristobulus at Rome, and caused his son to be put to death at Antioch (Jos., *Ant.*, xiv. 7 § 4). Next year (B.C. 48) there occurred the battle of Pharsalia, the death of Pompey on the seashore of Egypt at Pelusium, and the extreme peril of Cæsar, besieged by the Egyptians in the island of Pharos at Alexandria. This adventure of Cæsar's affected the fortunes of the Jews for more than half a century. Relief from his embarrassing position cam to him through that Idumæan chief Antipater who had intrigued against Aristobulus[1] and rendered help to both Scaurus and Gabinius. He not only brought Jewish troops to join a mixed Asiatic force under Mithridates of Pergamum, but rallied to Cæsar's help the Jewish inhabitants of the Delta, and was a principal actor in the victory over his besiegers. Cæsar consequently owed him much, and was ready to reward him highly. While Hyrcanus was maintained, or re-appointed, as high priest and ethnarch, Antipater obtained the post of his choice, which was to be ἐπίτροπος of Judæa. This was

[1] *Cf.* p. 47 *supra.*

nominally a subordinate office, but it gave to the Idumæan the opportunity he sought of making his power felt (Jos., *Ant.*, xiv. 8 § 5). Antipater had two sons and found fitting occupation for each. Phasaelus, the elder, remained in Jerusalem to support the high priest Hyrcanus, who "was of a slow and sluggish temper"; Herod, the younger, found scope for his energies in distant Galilee, where he commended the new *régime* to the inhabitants by suppressing a band of brigands, and slaying its chief. But the leading men in Jerusalem, jealous for the rights of the Sanhedrim in matters of capital punishment, so worked upon Hyrcanus that he summoned Herod to answer for his action before that body. He came with a guard that overawed his accusers, and all that Hyrcanus could do was to adjourn the trial, and get this formidable innovator away to Damascus. There he bought from the Governor of Syria the post of commander in Coele-Syria,[1] and would have led his force against Jerusalem itself, but for the strong and united remonstrances of his father and brother (Jos., *Ant.*, xiv. 9).

§ 5. When after the death of Julius Cæsar the conspirators parted to levy powers,[2] it was natural that Gaius Cassius should proceed to Syria, the scene of his former success, and characteristic of him that he should practise there the exactions for which he is

[1] *I.e.* Eastern Palestine; see G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 538.

[2] *Cf. Julius Cæsar*, Act iv., scene 1.

reproved by Brutus in Shakespeare's play. In this matter Antipater served him zealously, and after his death in a private quarrel, his son Herod, who had raised 100 talents in Galilee, succeeded to his father's place in the favour of Rome (Jos., *Ant.*, xiv. 11; *J. War*, i. 11). Herod further strengthened his position in Judæa by becoming betrothed[1] to an Hasmonean princess, Mariamne, granddaughter of King Aristobulus II.

The victory of Philippi made Mark Antony arbiter of the fortunes of Asia. He had scarcely set foot on its shores before Jews appeared with grievances against their Idumæan lords. They met with no success, and on renewing their suit at Daphne near Antioch, encountered a sharp rebuff; for Antony, hearing from Hyrcanus that the brothers governed well, assigned a definite position to both Phasaelus and Herod, naming them Tetrarchs, which title continued in the family until the times of the New Testament[2] (Jos., *Ant.*, xiv. 12 § 2; 13 § 1). But one Jewish embassy was received favourably: it came to petition for the release of countrymen "sold under the spear" by Cassius during his spoliation of Syria. Phœnicians still, as in the days of Amos (i. 9) and of Ezekiel, "traded the persons of men . . . for . . . merchandise" (Ezek. xxvii. 13), and Antony addressed

[1] The marriage took place at Samaria in B.C. 37 during an interval in the final war for the possession of Judæa (Jos., *Ant.*, xiv. 15 § 14).

[2] *Cf.* Luke iii. 1.

a rescript to Tyre, demanding the release of all Jewish slaves (Jos., *Ant.*, xiv. 12 §§ 2-5).

§ 6. But just at the time when the fortune of Herod seemed most assured, it suffered an unexpected reverse. Antigonus, son of Aristobulus and one of the last of the Hasmoneans, having failed in a personal attempt on Judæa, made an unnatural alliance with the wild Parthians, promising them "a thousand talents and five hundred women" if they would kill Herod and bestow the government on himself. The absence of Antony from the province gave the Parthians their opportunity. Pacorus, one of their generals, reached Jerusalem, and Herod, alarmed by the seizure of the persons of Hyrcanus and Phasaelus, left in hurried flight, harassed by both Parthians and hostile Jews. His first halting-place was the fortress of Masada[1] overlooking the Dead Sea; and there he left in security the fugitive women who had come with him from Jerusalem. He himself hoped for refuge in "the clefts of the rock" of Petra, but the King of the Nabatheans would not receive him: he was driven therefore to take the desert route to Egypt in search of Antony; arrived at Alexandria, he found that Antony was in Italy; in his journey thither the sea proved as adverse to him as his enemies had proved on land, and he was shipwrecked on Rhodes before he could reach Brundisium. Once arrived at Rome he found

[1] See *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, by G. A. Smith, p. 512 ff.

immediate favour with the authorities on account of the friendly actions of his father, and the senate conferred on him the title of "King of the Jews". This honour, says Josephus, was in advance of his own expectations, although he had come with bribes in his hand; but the political reason for it is evident. If Julius Cæsar had desired to make of Judæa a buffer State against the Parthians, much more was that the wise policy now, when the Parthians were in Jerusalem; and since the Hasmonean had gone over to them, some other head over Judæa had to be found, one vigorous enough to win the kingdom which he was to rule. It must have been a strange experience for Herod, though only a half-Jew,[1] to find himself walking in procession between Antony and Octavius, offering sacrifice with them on the Capitol, and there depositing his patent of royalty (Jos., *ibid.* 13, 14).

Meantime the Hasmonean monarchy was restored in Jerusalem by the hands of the Parthians: but, like other restored monarchs, Antigonus had learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. It was not enough for him to rid himself of Phasaelus, his rival in the civil government; he must also cut off the ears of Hyrcanus his uncle, so as to deprive him of ecclesiastical office, which could not be held by any of the seed of Aaron that had a blemish[2] (Jos., *ibid.* 13 § 10).

[1] ἡμιουδαῖος is Antigonus' disparaging epithet for him (Jos., *ibid.* 15 § 2).

[2] *Cf.* Lev. xxi. 21.

CHAPTER VI.

HEROD, KING OF THE JEWS: FIRST PERIOD (B.C. 40-15). (Jos., *Ant.*, xiv. 15-xv. 9.)

§ 1. In B.C. 40 Herod landed at Acre to conquer his kingdom; but the process was slow, and the Roman legions sent in support were difficult to provision, and difficult to control. It was three years before he was able to face Antigonus under the walls of Jerusalem. The siege that followed was, like that by Pompey, long and obstinate: three lines of defence were carried in succession and then Jerusalem fell; a brutal massacre followed, but sacrilege in the temple on the part of the Roman troops, and destruction by fire in the city were averted by the personal exertions of Herod.

The last flutter of the native independence, which began with Judas Maccabæus in B.C. 165, died out with the execution of Antigonus in B.C. 37; and the Roman general Sossius commemorated his victory by dedicating a crown of gold to Jehovah, and by issuing a coin[1] which showed a trophy guarded by two Judæan captives (Jos., *Ant.*, xiv. 16).

[1] *Cf.* Hastings' *D.B.*, iii., p. 426, for a description of Herod's own bronze coinage.

§ 2. The Feast of Tabernacles had already in the Hasmonean time given rise to a tragedy, when Alexander Jannæus acting as high priest was pelted with citrons by the crowd of worshippers, and gave orders for his body-guard to cut them down. In B.C. 35 it gave occasion to Herod for the first of the series of domestic horrors which disgraced his reign. Aristobulus, brother of Mariamne, had succeeded to the office of high priest hereditary in the Hasmonean family. He was a tall and handsome youth of seventeen, and as he went up to the altar in his sacred robes to sacrifice, the worshippers broke out into acclamations of loyalty and joy which vexed the soul of the parvenu king, who had all an Oriental's jealousy together with an Oriental's unscrupulousness in removing rivals. After the festival Herod went down to Jericho, to the country-house of Alexandra, the mother of Aristobulus; "he was very pleasant with the young man," the high priest, played with him during the noon of a hot day, drew him to certain fish-ponds near the house, and induced him to join the swimmers there, certain of whom had their instructions and furtively held Aristobulus down under water, as though in play, "till he was entirely suffocated" (*ibid.*, xv. 3 § 3; *J. War*, i. 22 § 2).

In spite of Herod's strong demonstration of grief, and provision of a splendid funeral, Alexandra was not deceived, and hastened to lay her grievance before Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, who already bore ill-will to Herod. Cleopatra prevailed on Antony to

summon the King of Judæa before him to make his defence. Herod went with reluctance to the interview at Laodicea, but once there he pleaded so dexterously, and bribed so handsomely, that he returned more in favour with his overlord than ever (Jos., *Ant.*, xv. 3 §§ 4 f., 8).

§ 3. He returned, however, to an unquiet home. The Hasmonean princess, Mariamne, despised the king's mother Cypros and his sister Salome, and taunted them with the meanness of their birth. They took their revenge by exciting in the king suspicions as to his wife's fidelity (*ibid.*, xv. 3 § 9). Herod returned also to stormy political times. Cleopatra's avarice gained from Antony dominion over cities in Syria, and revenues from lands situated within Judæa, threatening Herod's power (*ibid.*, xv. 4 § 1 f.). As the breach widened in the Roman world between the two triumvirs, Herod loyally took his stand beside Antony, but fortune kept him away from the battle of Actium (B.C. 31); and he met Octavius at Rhodes after the battle with such a frank and plausible defence of his friendship to Antony that not only was the diadem, which he had removed in the conqueror's presence, restored to him, but he gained in addition the abiding favour of his new overlord (*ibid.*, xv. 6 § 6 f.). He entertained Octavius on his way to Egypt, and after the death of Antony, Octavius enlarged his kingdom by the addition of Samaria, of Joppa, of several other coast cities, and of certain towns in Decapolis (*ibid.*, xv. 6 § 7; 7 § 3).

Outwardly nothing could be more prosperous or apparently stable than the new dynasty; its miseries were all of the king's own making. He could endure no possible rival from the old ruling stock. Hyrcanus, though no longer capable of performing sacerdotal duties, might conceivably strike a blow for the throne; so Herod, either actually discovering, or pretending to discover a traitorous correspondence with Arabia, had the last male of the family of Hashmon put to death.

§ 4. Twice over in his forced absences from home (*ibid.*, xv. 3 § 5; xv. 6 § 5), Herod had left his wife, whom he loved with a jealousy which witnessed to the depth of his love, if not to its tenderness or wisdom, in the charge of some trusted friend with injunctions that she should be killed if he failed to return. Twice over Mariamne gained the secret from her guardian. On the second occasion, after the return of Herod with all his blushing honours thick upon him, the queen could not conceal her resentment, but received him with a groan, showing "that she rather grieved than rejoiced at his success". The king vacillated this way and that for a time, "entangled," according to the picturesque phrase of Josephus, "between hatred and love"; [1] but at last the crisis came. Cypros and Salome, who had long plied him with slanderous stories, found one which touched him to the quick. Herod's cupbearer was instructed to accuse Mariamne of inciting him to administer drugs to the king.

[1] ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ στυγεῖν καὶ στέργειν ἀπολῃφθείς.

Herod's wrath broke out, and carried him far: he tortured the queen's eunuch; he put to death the former guardian of her person; then he summoned the queen herself to trial on the charge of attempting to poison him. How the court for trying her was constituted there is no record; the sentence of death was evidently passed in order to satisfy the king, and was executed at once in order to satisfy his Idumæan relatives. Mariamne went to her death with "unshaken firmness of mind,"[1] a trait of character not out of keeping with the want of "moderation"[2] ascribed to her by Josephus; for it was, as it were, the last protest of a proud nature against Herod's unworthy treatment of her kindred and herself (Jos., *Ant.*, xv. 7 §§ 1-6).

Then came a revulsion of feeling in the stormy soul of Herod: he tried dissipation to save himself from remorse, but unsuccessfully; he tried seclusion, and retiring to Samaria, the scene of their wedding, he pretended that the queen was still alive and present with him, until he fell ill of a fever, which nearly proved fatal. He was probably more or less delirious, certainly reckless, when he ordered the execution of four of his own intimate friends, whom he had come to suspect and fear. For the execution of Alexandra, which took place about the same time, he apparently had some warrant, for she had endeavoured during his

[1] In contrast with the almost incredible baseness attributed to her mother, Alexandra.

[2] τὸ . . . ἐπιεικές.

illness to get the two main strongholds of Jerusalem into her own hands (*ibid.*, xv. 7 § 7 f.).

§ 5. After his recovery, Herod, free for the time being from domestic troubles, turned his mind to works of royal use or display. Within Jerusalem itself three or four new edifices arose at his bidding.

(*a*) One of the earliest causes of offence given to the Jews in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes had been the exhibition of Greek games in a palæstra set up at Jerusalem.[1] This offence committed by an "ungodly" Jew in the reign of an alien and pagan king, was now repeated by their own ruler in aggravated shape. He built both a theatre and an amphitheatre, and appointed solemn games to be celebrated in honour of Augustus and his victory at Actium. These particular games moreover were more obnoxious than any the Syrians had held, for they included those wild-beast shows and combats between beasts and criminals which distinguished for evil the Roman from the Greek amusements. Possibly indeed the Jews were over-scrupulous, for they objected to the "trophies," or stands of arms taken in war, which Herod set up around the theatre, as though they were images forbidden by the law of Moses. These innovations, however, by a King of the Jews did not rouse the general indignation which had been kindled by foreign interference: perhaps the national spirit had degenerated with the moral shortcomings of the Hasmoneans. Still there were zealots left who would

[1] 2 Macc. iv. 9 ff.

have assassinated Herod in his own theatre, had not their Puritan plot been discovered by a spy, to the ruin of the conspirators and of their families with them (Jos., *Ant.*, xv. 8 §§ 1-4).

(*b*) For his own better security Herod rebuilt the stronghold known as Baris, and called it Antonia after his first patron. It stood at the north-western corner of the Temple Area and was the key to the fortifications upon the eastern hill (*ibid.*, xv. 11 § 4).

(*c*) For his royal pleasure the king erected a palace[1] on the western hill of Jerusalem with chambers of unusual height, each named after some one of his Roman patrons, and with protecting towers named after members of his own household. It was perhaps in imitation of King Solomon[2] that he brought into the new abode a new wife, marrying a daughter of one Simon, a priest, whom with a view to his own dignity Herod elevated to the high priesthood, deposing as with sovereign authority the successor of Aristobulus (Jos., *Ant.*, xv. 9 § 3).

(*d*) But either penitence for misdeeds past, or hope of future gratitude from his subjects, or possibly a desire to follow in the footsteps of Solomon, moved Herod to the greatest of all his tasks, which occupied

[1] Its site is occupied by the present Turkish citadel near the Jaffa Gate, and its gardens probably extended southward to the enclosure of the Armenian convent. See *The Story of Jerusalem*, by Col. Sir C. M. Watson, p. 90.

[2] *Cf.* 1 Kings iii. 1.

the rest of his lifetime, and was not even then complete,[1] the renovation of the temple built after the return from Captivity (Ezra vi. 13-16). He set to work circumspectly, convoking an assembly of the Jews, proclaiming his special fitness for the work on account of his own large resources, and reminding them that the Roman amity which he enjoyed would suffer him to finish what the Persian hostility had formerly hindered. In a sense the new sanctuary was more native than that of the old monarchy: its stones were not from the mountains of Lebanon, but from the quarries underneath Jerusalem itself; among its builders were no heathen Gebalites,[2] but a thousand priests, dressed in sacerdotal garments provided by the king's bounty.

One great feature of the renovation was the increase in size of the space devoted to sacred use. The platform now known as the Haram[3] area was built up, extending over the space once occupied by Solomon's palace, and reaching from the Valley of the Kedron to the Tyropœon valley. Along three sides of the level so acquired cloisters were built; the cloister was single which looked towards the Mount of Olives and also that which looked on the city; at the southern end however the cloister was triple, and of the dimensions almost of a cathedral. Under

[1] *Cf.* John ii. 20.

[2] *Cf.* 1 Kings v. 18.

[3] An Arabic word denoting the "forbidden" place. Contrast the words of Isaiah (lvi. 7) cited by Jesus in Mark xi. 17: "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations".

this so-called Royal Portico entrances were pierced in the thickness of the enclosing wall, and inclined planes gave access to the area of worship. The area itself was subdivided into courts or terraces of increasing height and increasing sanctity;[1] the uppermost terrace contained the altar of sacrifice, and the double sanctuary of the divine presence.

Eighteen months sufficed for the completion of the central edifice, and, as if to show that his interests were rather political than religious, Herod chose for the opening ceremony the day of his own inauguration as king. He abstained himself from treading the inner court of sacrifice, and was content with presenting his offering of 300 oxen through the hands of the sacerdotal body (Jos., *Ant.*, xv. 11).

The beauty of Zion in her new apparel may perhaps be better realised through poetry than through prose. Dean Milman has given us suggestions of how she may have looked to Titus in the last days, before her buildings were destroyed:

> . . . Behold the Temple,
> In undisturb'd and lone serenity
> Finding itself a solemn sanctuary
> In the profound of heaven! It stands before us
> A mount of snow fretted with golden pinnacles!
> The very sun, as though he worshipp'd there,

[1] Notices were set up in Greek warning that the penalty of death would follow the guilt of trespassing beyond the point where the notice stood. One of these is now in the Museum at Constantinople, and a cast of it is in the British Museum (Hall of Inscriptions).

Lingers upon the gilded cedar roofs;
And down the long and branching porticoes,
On every flowery-sculptured capital,
Glitters the homage of his parting beams.
Milman's *Fall of Jerusalem*, p. 8.

It was not enough for Herod, emancipated from Jewish prejudices, and in sympathy with Roman Imperialism, to conciliate his subjects by the renovation of the temple; he desired the applause of the world outside Judæa. He invited Marcus Agrippa, who had been the right hand of Augustus in the embellishment of Rome, to visit the cities he had built after the fashion of the West, and finally to be his guest in Jerusalem. Agrippa manifestly approved of what he saw; for he offered, we are told, a hecatomb to Jehovah upon the old altar in its new surroundings (Jos., *Ant.*, xvi. 2 § 1). Tradition[1] tells of another visitor about this same time, a peasant of Nazareth, Joachim by name, whose offering was rejected by the priest on account of his childlessness; but his wife Anna persisted in prayer till she obtained her desire of the Lord, and the parents called the child Mary, or Miriam, in recollection possibly of the murdered queen.

Outside Jerusalem works were undertaken by Herod which left a lasting mark upon the Holy Land.

(*e*) In the centre of the country, on an oval and isolated hill, lay the former capital of the Northern

[1] See Mrs. Jameson's *Legends of the Madonna*, p. 139 ff.

tribes. The Samaria of Omri and of Ahab[1] had indeed survived its capture by Sargon, but had subsequently met with hard treatment at the hands of John Hyrcanus (Jos., *Ant.*, xiii. 10 § 3). Herod saw in the site great possibilities of defence, and still more of a city to be designed after the Roman fashion. Within wide and well-planned fortifications he found space for a Forum, and a long colonnaded street, some of the pillars[2] of which are there to this day. Then, in imitation of what stood in pagan Athens and in pagan Pergamum, Herod built a temple within a sacred enclosure at the centre of the newly fashioned city. To what deity was it dedicated? The answer is to be found in the history of Rome. In B.C. 27 the Senate decreed to Octavius the title of "Venerable" (Augustus, or Σεβαστός), a title associated with sacred things, suggesting, and gradually leading on to, the ascription of heavenly honour. So began that official cult of the Emperor which was the rival of Judaism before it became the rival of Christianity.[3] Herod gave his sanction to it by the temple[4] which he set up near the site of the old sanctuary of Baal, and by the name he bestowed

[1] See *O. T. H. L.*, p. 73 ff.

[2] Eighty are *in situ*; see Murray's *Handbook for Syria and Palestine*.

[3] *Cf.* Rev. ii. 13, and Sir W. M. Ramsay's *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 294.

[4] Josephus (*Ant.*, xv. 9 § 5) declares that the Jews would not have suffered such an erection on the sacred soil of Judæa; but they considered Samaria to be out of their bounds.

on his new fortress,[1] *Sebaste*, now Sebustieh (Jos., *Ant.*, xv. 8 § 5).

(*f*) When Ahab adopted Samaria for his capital, the choice was dictated partly by the natural strength of the site, but partly also by its position on the western slope of the mountain-ridge of Palestine. This gave it an outlook to the sea, and upon that sea lay Tyre, with whose king Ahab was in political alliance. The same westward position had its attraction for Herod: his eyes also were turned to the sea, for it was his way of communication with Italy. He took, however, a step in advance of any thought of by the Israelite king; he founded a new city as a port for Sebaste on the Mediterranean between Joppa and Mount Carmel. Here he gave his Roman tastes full satisfaction; not only was there everything which a stormy coast required by way of refuge for shipping, but splendour of marble edifices,[2] towers, a theatre, a temple containing, in defiance of all Jewish piety, statues of Cæsar (Augustus) and of Rome. What wonder that Herod's subjects should call this *Cæsarea*, "the daughter of Edom,"[3] remembering the enmity of their old heathen neighbour, which kindled the wrath of the prophet Obadiah? (Jos., *Ant.*, xv. 9 § 6).

[1] He garrisoned it with veterans, after the Roman manner.

[2] The two columns on the Piazetta at Venice are said to have been brought from Cæsarea (Renan, *Histoire d'Israel*, v., p. 273, n. 2).

[3] See G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 141, n. 2.

(*g*) A further opening for Herod's activity was afforded by the grant to him of the wild basaltic district of Trachonitis, south of Damascus, haunted then, as now, by untameable brigands. He hunted them down, as he had hunted down their brethren in Galilee, and to commemorate his success by a fitting memorial chose a spot of ancient sanctity. A slope of Lebanon extending to the south ends in a steep cliff; a stream tributary to the Jordan issues from a cave at its foot: the Greeks, recognising the picturesqueness of the place, had called it Paneas after Pan, and it still carries his name in the slightly changed form of Banias. But Herod had only one thought in his eager devotion to Rome, which was to extend the Imperial cult to the farthest point in his dominions: so here arose yet another shrine in honour of Augustus (Jos., *Ant.*, xv. 10 §§ 1-3).[1]

(*h*) A traveller standing on the Mount of Olives sees upon the horizon to the south a conspicuous hill summit, known as Jebel Fureidis. The name is supposed to indicate a "Paradise" or pleasaunce which was once to be found upon it; it dates back to the time of Herod; for, remembering probably the long distance he had to traverse in his flight towards the

[1] Herod's son Philip, tetrarch of Trachonitis, built a city round the shrine, calling it Cæsarea (Jos., *Ant.*, xviii. 2 § 1); and in his honour it became known as Cæsarea Philippi. *Cf.* Mark viii. 27 and the commentary on the event contained in Professor G. A. Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 476 ff.

wilderness before reaching the security of Masada,[1] he fixed on this much nearer and more convenient summit for the erection of a place of refuge outside Jerusalem. He made a marble stair of approach; he built royal apartments within a strong encircling wall having circular towers at intervals, and brought water from a distance to supply it against a siege. It received a name from himself, and it is within this "*Herodium*" that the first Idumæan king of the Jews lies buried (Jos., *Ant.*, xv. 9 § 4).

[1] See p. 74 *supra*.

CHAPTER VII.

JEWISH LITERATURE IN EGYPT.

§ 1. One of the most curious chapters in the history of Jewish literature is that which concerns its contact with the culture of Greece. The earliest approach of Hellenism to Palestine was from the side of Antioch, the capital of the Seleucid branch of Macedonian conquerors; but the conditions were unfortunate, for Antiochus Epiphanes set himself to break down the rigour of Hebrew religion, and establish the worship of a Greek idol within the courts of the Temple of Jehovah.[1] Certain of the Jews yielded to the seductions of Greek commerce and of Greek amusements, but the majority, fighting against a profane cult, fought also against the civilisation which went with that cult. So began a patriotic antagonism to everything Gentile, which finds its reflection in the *Book of Jubilees* (ch. xv. 31). The writer is not satisfied with the statement of Deut. xxxii. 8, 9, where, according to the Septuagint, the guardianship of the nations is said to be in the hands of angels appointed by the Most High. He takes on himself to go farther: "over all [peoples] hath He placed spirits in authority

[1] *O. T. H. L.*, p. 267.

to lead them astray from Him". So things went in Palestine.

But there grew up during the Maccabean age a centre of Jewish life and thought apart from Palestine. As early as the date of the Babylonian Captivity, Jews had left their distressful land for voluntary exile in Egypt. Jeremiah led a band of his countrymen to Daphnæ in the Delta, and we ascertain from records recently found that others went up the Nile to settle in Assuan and Elephantine.[1]

§ 2. But the chief abode of refugees from Judæa was the city of Alexandria. It afforded opportunities of earning a livelihood to the men of commerce; it afforded opportunities of study to the Rabbis, whose tastes were broader than those of their brethren in Jerusalem. A whole new world of thought opened before them; they caught up the speech of the Macedonians among whom they lived, and became bilingual, or even tended to confine themselves to the Greek language. So fully Hellenised indeed did the immigrants become that by the middle of the third century B.C. it was necessary for the Jews of Egypt to render their Scriptures into Greek for common use.[2] From the legendary number of translators this rendering became known as the Septuagint, or Version of the Seventy. So the way was opened for the interchange of learning and of philosophic thought between the East and the West.

§ 3. Already in both canonical and apocryphal

[1] See *O. T. H. L.*, p. 152 ff. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 254 ff.

books the desire of Jews to look into the deep things of God had found written expression side by side with the outpourings of prophecy and the record of national events. This desire took shape as the pursuit of Hokmah [1] or Wisdom, considered as a Being "formed" [2] by God, and distinct from God. Three books of the Old Testament constitute as it were a volume apart dedicated to this form of Literature: (*a*) Wisdom is a quality underlying the *Proverbs* of the people; (*b*) Wisdom is concerned with the speculations of the world-weary King Solomon (*Ecclesiastes*); (*c*) Wisdom in dramatic fashion discusses the trials of the righteous (*Job*). The Apocrypha contains two later studies of the same subject. (*d*) The Son of Sirach (in *Ecclesiasticus*) views Wisdom as moral tact in the management of life, while at the same time he has a high poetical conception of her glory and authority, where she rests apart "in the beloved city" of Jerusalem (Ecclesiasticus xxiv. 11).[3]

A century or more went by, and there appeared *c.* B.C. 50, probably in Alexandria, a book (*e*) calling itself the *Wisdom of Solomon.* The writer had profited by the learning which entered from Greece in the footsteps of the Ptolemies, and which remained for use in the library attached to the Museum of Alexandria. There are philosophic utterances in the book which appear to come direct from Aristotle, Plato, and the Stoics, and yet there is no compro-

[1] *Cf. O. T. H. L.*, p. 59. [2] Prov. viii. 22 (R.V. margin).
[3] *O. T. H. L.*, p. 286 ff.

mise in it of religious principle, or deflection from a high standard of Jewish orthodoxy. The treatise is covered by the name of Solomon, yet it is significantly opposed to the canonical treatise of Ecclesiastes,[1] which claimed to be the work of "the son of David, king in Jerusalem": that was frankly pessimistic; this rises to a high level of hope and encouragement.

§ 4. The Wisdom of Solomon.

(*a*) Religious despair amounting almost to a denial of God prevailed among a section of the Jews in Egypt. They courted death in the error of their lives (i. 12); "they said within themselves . . . 'by mere chance were we born, and hereafter we shall be as though we had never been'" (ii. 1, 2); they went on to exhort one another: "'Come therefore and let us enjoy the good things that now are . . . let us crown ourselves with rosebuds, before they be withered . . . let us oppress the righteous poor; . . . let our strength be to us a law of righteousness'" (ii. 6-11). The writer meets this perverted reasoning by the assertion "God made not death, . . . nor hath Hades royal dominion upon earth" (i. 13, 14). Despondency proceeds from not knowing the mysteries of God (ii. 22), and at the head of these mysteries is the great initial fact that "God created man for incorruption, and made him an image of his own proper being" (ii.. 23).

There follows a noble passage on the peace of

[1] *O. T. H. L.*, p. 240 ff.

righteous souls in the hand of God, where "no torment shall touch them": "in the time of their visitation they shall shine forth; . . . They shall judge nations, and have dominion over peoples" (iii. 1-9).[1] And if the righteous man die before his time, what of that? Enoch "being made perfect in a little while . . . fulfilled long years".[2] "Understanding is gray hairs unto men, and an unspotted life is ripe old age" (iv. 7-13). As for the ungodly, Jehovah "shall take holiness as an invincible shield, and he shall sharpen stern wrath for a sword: and the world shall go forth with him to fight against his insensate foes" (v. 19, 20). These foes are above all the kings and judges of the earth, whose dominion was given them from the Lord, "for the man of low estate may be pardoned in mercy, but mighty men shall be searched out mightily" (vi. 1-6).

(*b*) Wisdom is the writer's chief subject through many chapters in succession (chs. vi. 12 - xi. 1). In the first she figures as a maiden that goeth about "seeking them that are worthy of her". Who this maiden is, and "how she came into being," Solomon offers to impart without grudging from the fulness of his experience (vi. 16-22). There follows a poetical version of the dream-vision in Gibeon as told in 1 Kings iii. 5-13. "I called upon God,[3] and there came to me a spirit of wisdom" and "with her there

[1] First Lesson for All Saints' Day, morning.
[2] *Cf.* Newman's *Dream of Gerontius*, § 3.
[3] See Wisdom ix.

came to me all good things together, . . . for she is unto men a treasure that faileth not" (vii. 7-14). All the points of his varied learning (and they are enumerated at length) Solomon attributes to Wisdom, "the artificer of all things" (vii. 22), "who ordereth all things graciously" (viii. 1). "She is a breath of the power of God, and . . . an effulgence from everlasting light." "She . . . reneweth all things, and from generation to generation passing into holy souls she maketh men friends of God and prophets. . . . For she is initiated into the knowledge of God" (vii. 25 - viii. 4). "The fruits of wisdom's labour are virtues, for she teacheth soberness and understanding, righteousness and courage;[1] and there is nothing in life for men more profitable than these" (viii. 7).

Solomon puts into mystical language his own pursuit of Wisdom. "Her I loved and sought out from my youth . . . to take her for my bride" (viii. 2), "knowing that she is one who would give me good thoughts for counsel, and encourage me in cares and grief" (viii. 9). "But perceiving that I could not otherwise possess wisdom except God gave her me, . . . I pleaded with the Lord and besought him" for "her that sitteth by thee on thy throne" (viii. 21 - ix. 4). Chapter ix. contains an elaborate version of the prayer offered by Solomon at Gibeon.

(*c*) Then dropping the personality of Solomon, our writer traces the workings of Wisdom from the be-

[1] The four cardinal virtues of the Platonists, of which courage was scarcely a Hebrew virtue at all.

ginnings of history, from the days when she delivered Adam out of his own transgression, to the days when she guided Israel through the wilderness of the wanderings into the land of Canaan (x. 1-xi. 20). The whole passage is a specimen of those amplifications of history which are included under the term Haggada,[1] and which abound in turgid rhetorical fancies.

(*d*) The author, however, seems to tire of his own conceits, and we find him dealing no longer with Wisdom, but with the character of God Himself. "Thou hast mercy on all men, because thou hast power to do all things, . . . and abhorrest none of the things which thou didst make."[2] "Thou sparest all things, because they are thine, O Sovereign Lord, thou lover of men's souls"[3] (xi. 23-26).

"Thou . . . judgest in gentleness,"[4] teaching thy people "how that the righteous must be a lover of men" (xii. 18, 19).

(*e*) The wide dispersion of the Jews brought them into contact with many forms of idolatry, and it belonged to the philosophic temper of Alexandrian Jews, while abating nothing of their abhorrence of idolatry, to discuss with discernment the several shapes of it and their origins.

[1] *Cf.* W. R. Smith's *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, pp. 58, 168 f.; Hastings' *D.B.*, extra vol., p. 58.

[2] *Cf.* Collect for Ash Wednesday.

[3] φιλόψυχε. This epithet may well have suggested the opening words of Charles Wesley's hymn: "Jesu, Lover of my Soul".

[4] ἐπιείκεια, *i.e.* sweet reasonableness; *cf.* ii. Cor. x. 1.

(1) There were those who thought "either fire, or wind, or swift air, or circling stars . . . to be gods that rule the world". "If it was through delight in their beauty that they took them to be gods, let them know how much better than these is their Sovereign Lord; for the first author of beauty[1] created them" (xiii. 2, 3).

(2) There were those miserable men whose hopes were in dead things, "who called them gods which are works of men's hands" (xiii. 10). The writer exhibits a scorn equal to that of the prophet Isaiah,[2] as he traces the manufacture of an idol from a crooked piece of wood till it attain the semblance of a man, is painted over, and made fast with iron in a wall "that it may not fall down" (xiii. 11-16).

(3) But scorn is qualified by sympathetic insight into the origin of certain kinds of idolatry. "A father worn with untimely grief" desires an image of his "child quickly taken away" and honours him "as a god which was then a dead man" (xiv. 15). Or, "when men could not honour" princes "in presence, because they dwelt afar off, . . . they made a visible image of the king whom they honoured" (xiv. 17). Or owing to "the ambition of the artificer," "the multitude, allured by reason of the grace of his handywork, now accounted as an object of devotion him that a little before was honoured as a man,"

[1] *Cf.* Spenser's *Hymn of Heavenly Beauty*, ll. 15-21; Wordsworth's *Excursion*, iv.

[2] *Cf.* Isa. xliv. 13 ff.

and "invested stones and stocks with the incommunicable Name" (xiv. 18-21).

Abhorrence of idols is, according to the writer, no mere sentiment of his nation, but has a moral basis: social corruption of every kind could be traced to the "secret mysteries" and "frantic revels of strange ordinances". God's people could thank Him that they were protected from the meretricious charms of art through their acquaintance with Him (xiv. 22-xv. 6).

The conclusion of the book is scarcely worthy of its earlier parts. The turgid style of Alexandria appears in a long rhetorical passage on the plagues of the Egyptians set in contrast with God's mercies shown to Israel. "Upon the ungodly there came unto the end indignation without mercy," whereas "in all things, O Lord, thou didst magnify thy people . . . standing by their side in every time and place" (xix. 1, 22).

(*f*) We observe for the first time in the Bible the appearance of a psychological term which the Greek language furnished to Jewish thought. "Conscience" is a faculty of man not named in the Old Testament, though the underlying idea appears struggling for expression. The expression comes in Wisdom xvii. 11: "For wickedness condemned by a witness within is a coward thing, and, being hard pressed by conscience,[1] always forecasteth the worst lot".

[1] *συνείδησις* is found in Ecclesiastes x. 20, but only in the sense of "thought". See p. 26 *supra*, and note, for the occurrence of the word in a book not included in the Bible. For the thought *cf. Hamlet*, iii. 1. 83.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE OLD AGE OF HEROD (B.C. 15-4).
(Jos., *Ant.*, xv. 10—xvii. 8.)

§ 1. HEROD occupied his thoughts after the death of Mariamne with buildings which he erected throughout Palestine from the Herodium in the south to Paneas in the north, but he could not drive away suspicion and jealousy from his heart. Alexander and Aristobulus, the two sons of Mariamne, had all the attractiveness and all the haughtiness of their mother; they had been sent by Herod to Rome, received with distinction by Augustus, and offered hospitality in his palace (Jos., *Ant.*, xv. 10 § 1). It was certainly not a good education for two high-spirited youths, fretting at the remembrance of their mother's injuries, and uncertain as to their father's disposition. They returned to Jerusalem in no kindly mood towards Herod, and he, in no kindly mood towards them, summoned to court Antipater, a son born to him in early days, in order to abate their pride by the presence of a rival. Jerusalem became full of talk concern-

ing the succession, and of rumours that the intentions of the two brothers were treasonable, rumours set on foot by their aunt, Salome. At last the king, disturbed at hearing such things, took Alexander and Aristobulus away with him out of the country, and finding Augustus at Aquileia formally charged his sons with plotting against his life. The defence made by the elder was bold and successful: "We are willing to make a longer apology for ourselves, but actions never done do not admit of argument". The Emperor acquitted the accused of meditating crime, but blamed them for having so demeaned themselves towards their father as to cause suspicion. But Herod was dissatisfied; on returning home he took advantage of the power of nomination accorded him by his overlord, and solemnly before the people in the court of the temple named Antipater his heir (Jos., *Ant.*, xvi. 4).

It was not only, however, from the children of his Hasmonean wife that the king's trouble came: his Idumæan brother and sister fixed shameful accusations upon him, until he had no resource but to banish both of them from the palace. Antipater, who remained behind, played upon his father's suspicions, encouraged him to trust in spies, to wring information from his attendants by torture, to accuse and execute some of his most faithful friends. Indeed, if we may trust Josephus,[1] the whole court

[1] Who censures Nicolaus of Damascus for partiality in writing the memoirs of Herod (*ibid.*, xvi. 7 § 1).

was in a state of utter distraction: "the most intimate friends were become wild beasts to one another"; the king "believed everybody against everybody," and then uneasily doubted, demanding proofs, but refusing to be satisfied, having no "longer a single quiet day or hour" (*ibid.*, xvi. 7 and 8). As if the native sources of calumny were insufficient, there appeared at Herod's court a typical Greek parasite, one Eurycles, a Lacedæmonian, who worked himself into the confidence of the king and of Alexander, and of Antipater, aggravating the ill-feeling among them (*ibid.*, xvi. 10 § 1). At last the strain became intolerable; and Herod under authority from Augustus called together a council of notables at Berytus, where in the presence of "the governors of Syria,"[1] but in the absence of the accused, the two sons of Mariamne were tried. The opinions of the Roman officials were divided, not as to the guilt of Alexander and Aristobulus, but as to the punishment due to them. The sentence of death was, however, passed. Herod's own mind seems to have been undecided, when there occurred the chivalrous but unfortunate intervention of an old soldier belonging to the garrison of Cæsarea. He pleaded so boldly for the youths that Herod was led to mistrust the loyalty of his soldiers, and ordered his sons to immediate death at Sebaste, the scene of his own marriage with their mother (*ibid.*, xvi. 11).

[1] Saturninus and Volumnius; but what post the latter held is uncertain.

§ 2. There is a certain poetic justice in the fact that Antipater, the chief agent in compassing the removal of his rivals, had himself to stand his trial a year or two afterwards on the charge of administering poisonous drugs to his father. The king did not this time conduct the prosecution himself; he entrusted it to his friend, Nicolaus of Damascus, who bore heavily upon the accused: "Thou wouldst kill thy father after thy brothers, lest thy lies raised against them might be detected". Quintilius Varus, the governor of Syria, presided together with Herod in the court at Jerusalem and had a portion of the drug in question tried upon a condemned criminal with fatal results. When he could get no word of self-defence from the accused, he left him a prisoner in Herod's hands; and Herod sent ambassadors and letters to Rome to obtain the emperor's authority for putting him to death (*ibid.*, xvii. 5).

The King was now in his seventieth year, and suffered severely from inflammation and dropsy. He tried, but without benefit, the warm baths[1] at Callirrhoe beyond Jordan; then he returned to Jericho in savage mood, conscious that he should die without being mourned by his people. Consequently he gave orders that the principal men among his subjects should be shut up within the hippodrome of Jericho, and slain after his death, to give occasion to national

[1] They are described by Captain Conder in *Heth and Moab*, p. 148 ff.

grief (*ibid.* xvii. 6). It is not difficult to read in that incident the temper of the despot described in the New Testament, who, troubled at the rumour of another King of the Jews, promised to worship him when found, but seeing that he was mocked by his informants "was exceeding wroth, and sent forth, and slew all the male children that were in Bethlehem, and in all the borders thereof, from two years old and under" (Matthew ii. 3-16).

In two instances premature reports of Herod's death brought ruin to those who presumed on the truth of the news. Certain zealots of high Rabbinical rank incited their pupils to remove from the temple-gate a great eagle of gold set up by the king as an offering. It was an offence to them as a breach of the second commandment; it must also have been an offence to them as an open avowal of the overlordship of Rome. Herod chose to construe its removal as an act of sacrilege, and inflicted on the culprits the penalty of burning with fire, a penalty reserved in the Levitical law for "enormity".[1] Antipater in his prison grew bold of speech, hoping to be set free immediately, and to take the kingdom into his own hands. His gaoler carried the words to Herod, and the king commanded his immediate execution (Jos., *Ant.*, xvii. 6 §§ 2-4; 7 § 1).

[1] Lev. xx. 14, xxi. 9; *cf.* Code of Hammurabi, § 157 (Hastings' *D.B.*, extra vol., p. 604).

§ 3. When a tyrant feels power slipping out of his hands, he naturally becomes arbitrary in the exercise of it: so Herod during the last months of life made change after change in the succession. He finally determined on a division of what he had to leave behind, as though unable to trust any one of his sons with full authority. Archelaus, son of Malthace, obtained Judæa with the title of king, subject to the confirmation of Augustus (who, together with his wife, received large legacies); Antipas was named tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa; and a less important territory in the north-east fell to Philip. Salome received certain cities of the Philistine plain. Herod died B.C. 4, "the fifth day after he had caused his son Antipater to be slain" (Jos., *Ant.*, xvii. 8 § 1).

Archelaus as chief heir conducted a grand military funeral in honour of his father. It marked the cosmopolitan character of the deceased that in the escort marched Thracians, Germans and Gauls; it marked his Eastern love of luxury and extravagance that after the soldiers came five hundred domestics carrying spices. The procession advanced eight furlongs from Jericho; and then the mourners proceeded along the western shore of the Dead Sea and up one of the numerous wadies which lead into the hill country of Judæa, until the fortress was reached on Jebel Fureidis,[1] which Herod had built

[1] P. 88 *supra*,

in his life-time as a place of security, and which now served him as a place of burial (Jos., *Ant.*, xvii. 8 § 3).

§ 4. Scarcely five miles away over the hills lay that Bethlehem where four years earlier[1] had been born one whose character was in everything the direct opposite of the character of Herod. If it could be said concerning the kingdom of any one professing to serve God that it was essentially of this world,[2] it was true concerning the kingdom of Herod.

So covetous was he of praise and notoriety that when his own subjects failed to flatter him with statues, he made court to pagans and foreigners for such honours as they could bestow. Not content with the credit accruing from the renovation of the temple at Jerusalem, he erected a temple to Apollo at Rhodes; he adorned Antioch with porticoes; he assigned revenues for the upkeep of the Olympian games, anxious always and in every way to draw the eyes of men upon himself (Jos., *Ant.*, xvi. 5 §§ 3, 4).

Herod's reign of terror cast a heavy spell over Jewish literature. Criticism of the Hasmoneans where they had offended Pharisee zeal had been abundant; criticism of the crimes of Herod against the whole nation is scanty, or altogether wanting. Two or three outbursts of Puritanism occur, but, as a people, the Jews seem to have become incapable of

[1] Sir W. M. Ramsay places the birth of Jesus Christ in the autumn of B.C. 8 (*The Expositor*, Nov. 1912, p. 386).

[2] *Cf.* John xviii. 36.

protest, still more of resistance. The New Testament shows us Judæa and Galilee slowly recovering from a nightmare of oppression, prepared to listen to the tidings of a "kingdom of heaven" set apart for "the poor in spirit" (Matt. v. 3).

CHAPTER IX.

LITERARY FRAGMENTS.

Two generations or more had gone by since the death of Herod when a writer passed through Jerusalem and Galilee collecting material for a history of the origins of Christianity. He was able to recover fragments of song which sprang from inspired hope reviving after the dreary days of Idumæan royalty. Once again the Spirit of the Lord had been poured out on all flesh,[1] and its utterances were kindred to utterances written in the Psalms of Solomon.[2]

§ 1. Mary of Nazareth breaks forth into praise of God her Saviour, "for he that is mighty hath done to me great things". "And his mercy is unto generations and generations on them that fear him." "He hath scattered the proud in the imagination of their heart . . . and hath exalted them of low degree." "He hath holpen[3] Israel his servant, that he might

[1] See Joel ii. 28; Acts ii. 17.

[2] *Cf.* Psalms of Solomon, Ryle and James, p. xci. f.

[3] *Cf.* Ps. Sol. vii. 9. "Thou wilt establish us in the time appointed, when thou shalt succour us; and shalt have mercy upon the house of Jacob on the day wherein thou didst promise them help."

remember mercy (as he spake unto our fathers) toward Abraham and his seed for ever" (Luke i. 46-55).

§ 2. Zacharias, the priest, filled with the Holy Ghost, blesses the Lord God of Israel, "for he hath visited[1] and wrought redemption for his people". He points to his infant son John, as "the prophet of the Most High" ordained to "go before the face of the Lord to make ready his ways," "because of the tender mercy of our God, whereby the day-spring from on high shall visit us, to shine upon them that sit in darkness and the shadow of death; to guide our feet into the way of peace" (Luke i. 68-79).

§ 3. Simeon, the aged worshipper in the temple courts, beholding the infant Jesus brought in to be circumcised, receives him into his arms with a psalm of thanksgiving: "For mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all peoples; a light for revelation to the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel"[2] (Luke ii. 29-32).

[1] *Cf.* Ps. Sol. iii. 14, "when" the Lord "visiteth the righteous"; *cf.* Wisdom iii. 7.

[2] *Cf.* Ps. Sol. xvii. 32-34: "He shall glorify the Lord in a place to be seen of the whole earth . . . so that the nations may come from the ends of the earth to see his glory".

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